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EDITOR: EMORY R. JOHNSON

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: {CARL KELSEY, SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,
L. S. ROWE, JAMES T. YOUNG

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1906

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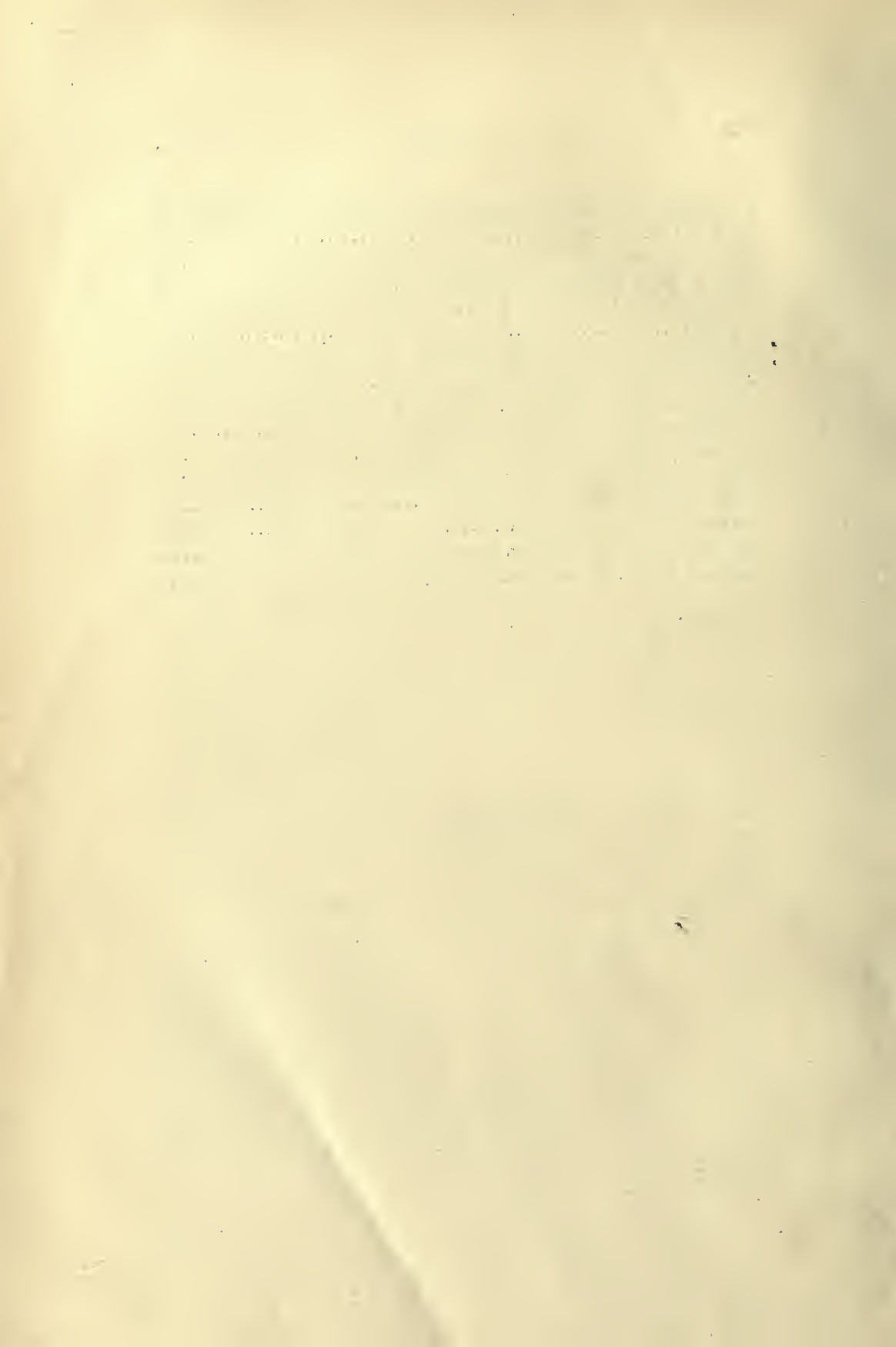
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PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

1906

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BOOK PUBLISHING

BY J. BERTRAM LIPPINCOTT,

Of the J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

In the book publishing business, as in all other commercial pursuits, there have appeared men who, with very little education, have become leaders and have amassed considerable fortunes, men who never saw the inside of a college, and who had little schooling. Such men are so gifted that, whatever falls to their lot, they are bound to succeed. What effect a finished education would have had on them and their career is a problem which may be left to conjecture. It is safe to say that men who have risen without an education are by far the exception. And most of them will confess that they would be thankful if they had received the education of their more fortunate associates.

There is no "commercial profession" where a finished education is more useful than that of publishing. The very nature of the business, which is practically that of preserving and disseminating knowledge and entertainment, is fascinating to a degree. To feel that an imprint on an important book will pass under the eyes of generations, after monuments have become neglected, is a satisfaction which the publisher of a good book may properly enjoy in prospective. Indeed, the very name and nature of the profession suggest culture, and without an appreciation of the higher ideals of life the publisher lacks an important, if not essential, quality to success.

The publishing business is divided into special branches, distinguished broadly by the nature of the books which they individually include. Thus we have medical publishers, technical or scientific publishers, publishers of belles lettres and fiction, and publishers of periodicals. The firm or individual issuing books belonging to all or several of these various classes is known as a general publisher. The choice of a particular department of publishing is de-

pendent upon the inclination or training of the individual. And so likewise each branch of publishing demands a special education or experience in keeping with its character.

But as a basis for successful publishing, in any or all of its branches, a common school education or its equivalent is a *sine qua non*. After that, the temperament and tastes of the individual probably are the most influential factors in determining a choice. If he has the clearly defined desire to confine his work to the law, to medicine, or to architecture, and seems to possess the physical and mental qualifications which fit him for dealing with any one of these, it is worse than useless to attempt to turn him aside from his desire. Such a young man is hardly likely to be successful in commercial pursuits; both his inclination and his mental equipment influence him to regard business as nothing more than a means to an end. On the other hand, the boy who possesses what might be termed a commercial temperament and who combines with this a taste for literature is, other things being equal, decidedly the best subject from which to develop a successful publisher. A purely literary temperament may fit him to become a writer, but, of itself, is not sufficient to equip him to be a publisher. Business acumen must be in his make-up, or he will ultimately fail.

At the close of his school life a boy should be in a position to select for himself, or to have selected for him by some one who thoroughly understands him, the special course of preparation which will fit him for the occupation he intends to follow, and, if he wishes to be a publisher, to advise him wisely with regard to that business.

Let us suppose that his intention is to become a medical publisher. In this case his first step, after leaving school, should be to enter a medical college of good standing. At first thought, this suggestion may seem altogether out of place. The young man may perhaps ask, "Why do I need to learn how to treat sick people when my plan is to publish books for those who already know more about this sort of thing than I could ever expect to learn?" "Exactly so," his adviser will reply. "But you must know how medical subjects are presented to students in order that you may be able to recognize what is needed in the way of a book intended to meet the requirements of medical students, professors and practitioners. Consequently, you must at first put yourself in

the position of the student and professor, and so understand their point of view. Furthermore, by this means you form acquaintances with those of authority in medical circles. This results in connections which, in your business career, should prove to be of great value, both by giving you special opportunities to procure the books you wish to publish, and also by enabling you, at times, to secure information or advice which will be needed."

The medical book business is a rather peculiar one in that it requires men especially trained for its management, and a man once trained to its methods may hardly be expected to be a success in the handling of other lines of books.

It might be thought that, to fit one to become a publisher of technical or scientific books, a special preparatory course of study in technical schools was likewise necessary; but this is not the case. The medical publisher concerns himself directly with one clearly defined class of books. The technical or scientific publisher, on the other hand, has to do with subjects so numerous and diversified in character as to make anything more than a general intelligent understanding of them and of their likely appeal, an impracticability. A publisher of technical or scientific works is not expected to know, nor would it be possible for him to speak authoritatively from first hand knowledge of, the exact value of each and every one of the books which he publishes. He must rely for his decisions on these points—so far as the manuscripts offered him or solicited for publication are concerned—upon the judgment of those whom he knows to have a special understanding of the particular subject in hand. It is not meant to imply that a scientific training is not of usefulness to the technical publisher. It *is* of decided value because of the habit of mind and the point of view which it establishes. But it cannot be considered essential.

After the student has acquired sufficient knowledge from institutions which deal with the higher education, his next step is to come to an understanding of how that education may best be applied to the business which he is about to undertake. We will suppose that he already has entered upon the publishing business, and that he has in prospect, or perhaps already on his shelves, a few good books which it is his business to sell. How shall he do this?

The first thought is by advertising. What form should this take? At college he knows that the books generally employed by

the students have been those "adopted," as it is called, by the professors. This adoption is one of the first things which he desires to secure for *his* medical books. And for that purpose he must obtain the services of competent agents or train them in methods which will result in presenting the books properly to the most likely purchasers. Also these agents must be handled by a man who understands the systematizing of an agency's work, and the careful recording of all facts and figures relating to it. For this purpose a very complete equipment is necessary; and it is not long before our publisher, considering the questions already raised, and the many little details involved by them, realizes that there are tremendous difficulties confronting the man who attempts to compete with the wealthy and established publishing houses.

The situation outlined, however, is offered rather as an illustration of the necessity for thorough preparation on the student's part than as a disturbing picture of conditions. The fact is that an experience of some length in the service of a large publishing house is essential to success. In this way and in this way only may be acquired that knowledge of the application of education to business which will later enable the ambitious publisher to make the best use of his opportunities and of his capital — whether it be in dollars and cents or in brains.

The school of experience is the only positive and safe school from which to graduate into the ranks of independent publishers. For only in that school can be gained acquaintance with practical problems of the business — problems which vary so considerably in their nature and bearings as to make impossible their presentation in the college or technical school. It is the unforeseen which usually demoralizes the beginner. Experience teaches him to prepare for such things ahead of time. And the unforeseen is a factor of daily experience, it is not touched upon in books or lectures.

On the other hand, as the graduate of a college or professional school, the young man who is being trained in a publishing house finds himself equipped to do many things which his less educated rival cannot do so readily. The college trained man already has a fairly broad and intelligent understanding of the best literature; he can talk rationally of the contents of books and their merits; he can approach the writers of books with that air of understanding which contributes to making them feel that he is one of them. Altogether

he has a good start, and, with equal capacity and energy, his chances for success are very much better than those of his less educated competitor.

The "general" publishing business involves such a variety of problems, that any special education in one department of learning is rather more apt to be disadvantageous than otherwise to the man who contemplates taking up this business. Furthermore — and this is true of all branches of publishing — youth is tremendously helpful. The young man's mind is open and eager, his ambitions make it easy for him to perform duties in the publishing house which, as an older man he might resent. The business requires physical energy and alertness of mind; furthermore as a young man the beginner in the publishing house more readily acquiesces in the all-important rule "Learn to obey in order that you may learn to command." There is little favoritism in the publishing business. Ability figures too largely in the final result to permit of overlooking it.

There is still another reason why the man ambitious to become a publisher should first of all have experience as an employee in an established house, and have this experience while he is yet young. The administrative faculty is, in a considerable degree, a gift which is not shared by all men. But it can be cultivated, and something which will serve tolerably well in its place may be acquired by close observation of those who do possess it, and by applying the results of this observation with common sense. In a large house a vast deal of administrative ability is required. While each department is presided over by a head, there are still constant issues involved by the work of each of these departments which must come for decision before the general head of the business. Again, there must be constant watch on the part of this head over the operations of the concern. The young man who is employed in a publishing house sees and hears every day what is the result of applied executive capacity and of the organization of which that capacity is the product. Consequently, whether or not he has an aptitude for the management of affairs, he must, as time goes on, store up a certain fund of information which stands him in good need. And not the least of the lessons which he so learns is that a knowledge of human nature — of the capacity, qualities, and temperament of men — is of the first importance in arranging the personnel of an establish-

ment which to do its best must run as does a fine piece of machinery, every part of it doing its duty continuously, quietly, and without friction. Such knowledge enables the publisher to advise his salesmen and intelligently weigh the opinions of those who read his manuscripts for him. In the case of the salesman it enables him to decide upon the particular classes of people who may be reached most profitably by the publications of the house. In the case of the readers of manuscripts it enables him to gauge the qualities of a manuscript and determine whether it is likely to interest the readers for whom it is intended.

Probably the most difficult problem confronting the publisher to-day is the selection of a novel which shall prove "popular." Fiction is the most widely known form of writing at the present time. More people attempt to write stories than anything else; and more people read them. It might almost be said that at least one in every two of the educated people born in the last one hundred years at one time or another has tried his or her hand at what is known as imaginative writing. Masses of such productions never even get as far as the publisher, and remain in their authors' desks. Tons of novels are returned yearly by publishers to their writers as being unavailable for publication. The magazines alone publish an immense amount of fiction; and almost as much if not more appears in the form of books. Consequently, the competition on the part of authors to get into print is acute, and a publisher has to employ every resource of his experience and judgment, as well as exercise extreme caution in deciding just which of the contributions offered to him he can publish to advantage.

Perhaps in the choice of a novel, the factor which may be counted on most surely is the curiosity common to us all. If a book succeeds in its early pages in piquing this curiosity and keeps it alive until near the close it is pretty sure to find a great many readers. Given such a story in which the actors are presented so that we sympathize with them or yield them our respect; in which our emotions are touched, and so constructed that it moves to a logical end, through incidents which have their own individual interest — given such a story, the publisher may put it upon the market with fair assurance of success. The great defect of some novels which have a really good idea at their foundation is what is called "padding" — that is to say, the extension of events beyond all reasonable

length, and the amplification of descriptions and conversations to the point where the reader loses interest through sheer monotony.

Exactly how a publisher arrives at his decision with regard to the availability of a manuscript is not easy to say in so many terms. A variety of reasons, differing with almost every book, enter into his judgment; but, in general, he has to consider, — the individual and comparative opinions of those who have read the manuscript, and to weigh these against his own views. Also he must ask himself to which sex the novel would be likely to appeal most strongly; in what part of the country it probably would have its largest sale, and how much of a sale a conservative estimate would predict for it. And when all this has been gone over he must again review his experience in the light of that unpleasant but undeniable fact that another previous book which perhaps seemed to him practically certain of a big sale was, commercially regarded, a complete failure. And what is still more discouraging, he must reflect that, for the failure of that particular book, he very probably is able to give no definite and sufficient reason even now. For one cause or another the public refused to talk about it, and, for all his advertising and the energetic efforts of his salesmen, it did not sell.

The whole question of popularizing novels seems to demand something more than literary judgment and business instinct. It might almost be said to involve complex psychic factors. At least the success of some books points to nothing more or less than this.

The selection of standard works as they are called — that is to say, books of reference, history, biographies, is quite another matter. The results achieved in these lines are dependent first of all upon the inherent merits of the work itself, and these in turn are referable in large part to the plan of the work and to the qualities of the man who is charged with preparing it. He is generally a specialist, and the publisher gives him considerable latitude in carrying out the plan of the book. The publisher's particular problems in each case are worked out along the lines of common sense regulated by the scheme of the work determined upon in advance. And this last in turn is drawn up with the idea of meeting the wants of the particular class of people for which the work is intended.

Histories and biographies are treated very similarly so far as their writing and the relation of publisher to author are concerned. And the method by which they are sold is also very much

like that adopted in other books of serious interest. But the whole problem of selling is one calling for the most discriminating judgment, and the widest experience. The selling plan varies in detail at least with almost every separate book, if we except fiction. The novel invariably is placed upon the market through the medium of book stores and by the regular salesmen of the publisher. Books of belles lettres and science are sold in that way too; but they are also occasionally sold by what is known as "subscription." The first mentioned method is called "selling to the trade," and the books so treated are called "trade books," as distinguished from "subscription books" which are sold exclusively by agents directly to the customer and so do not come into the hands of the retail bookseller at all.

The publisher has to decide in advance which will be the more profitable way for him to put his book upon the market, and his choice depends, not only upon the character of the book itself, but also upon the readers to whom he expects to sell it. If he believes that it should appeal especially to mechanics and others of those who are dependent upon their daily wages and to farmers who have a limited income, he remembers that books are a luxury to these people and that to induce them to purchase requires personal application, a full explanation by word of mouth of the merits of the book, and the persuasive tactics of a trained book agent. And here is where the book agent finds his fertile field. Cheap encyclopædias, Bibles, works on the farm, and on popular science, popular illustrated histories, or cheap editions of standard works of fiction may be presented to these customers with very good chances of success. But perhaps the easiest seller to such people is the life of a man who is in the nation's eye at the time. Such a book, if printed on cheap paper, profusely illustrated and showily bound, can be sold in large quantities, provided the price be low enough. But this branch of the subscription book business has peculiarities of its own, and the publisher who undertakes it usually has all that he can attend to without other publication business. No special academic education is required for success in this line. The ability to train agents for their tasks and to lay out their routes and otherwise govern their movements and doings are the requisites in a publisher of this kind.

The higher grades of subscription books which appeal to edu-

cated classes of readers require very different treatment. The subscription agent presenting these has to be better dressed and, in speech, manner and mental qualities, be not far inferior to those to whom he intends to present himself. He must know what the books he is selling are about and be able to answer questions in regard to their contents and their writer intelligently and promptly. In other words, in this branch of the trade, the tactics of the showman count for less, and education for far more.

Selling books by subscription is a more costly way than selling through the trade if the immediate expenses only be considered. The agent has to be paid a commission larger than is the discount usually allowed to the retail trade. Consequently, the net returns to the publisher are smaller on each copy of a subscription book than on each copy of a book sold to the trade. Purchasers, too, will sometimes return their books before they have paid for them, and after the agent has received his commission for selling them. This, of course, involves a direct loss to the publisher, and the books frequently come back in bad condition. Freight charges and the cost of collecting accounts also tend to cut down the publisher's profit. So, in order to provide against these heavy charges, the price of subscription books is often greater than that charged for other books which cost just as much to manufacture.

One of the most popular ways of selling subscription books is on what is known as the instalment plan, by which the subscriber is allowed to pay for the work he agrees to take in a number of installments. Sometimes these payments extend over two years, and extensive and very careful bookkeeping is required to cover the hundreds of small accounts. In this plan there is also a considerable loss of interest on receipts, while there always exists the danger of the subscriber being unable, or refusing, to keep up with his or her payments to the end, thereby involving the services of collectors. In my opinion, the instalment subscription business is an improper method of conducting what is otherwise a legitimate and profitable way of selling books.

Books sold by subscription are copiously advertised along special lines. This is done both in periodicals which enter the home, and by a process of circularization, which is more extensive than in any other branch of the book business. This advertising is not primarily intended to secure subscribers directly but to give material

to the publisher which he may turn over to his agents who then visit the writer and show him or her the book itself. Every sale so effected by the agent is credited to his account, and a commission allowed him on the sale. It must be remembered that this advertising deals only with books which cannot be procured in the book-stores, and on which, therefore, the agent is able to get the full publisher's price.

Most books, as has already been observed, are sold through the trade. The bookseller deals with the retail customer almost on his own terms. The salesmen employed by the publisher for this purpose are differently trained from those who carry on the subscription business. They have to do, not with men who do not know what they want and whose knowledge of books in many cases is limited; but with men equally well trained with themselves, and who know fairly definitely what they want and how many books they wish to buy. Books sold to the trade are advertised in a systematic manner in those mediums which are supposed to be read most widely by people interested in books. Most publishers follow convention in their advertising, confining themselves in general to a display of the title of the book advertised, and the name of the author, and publisher, together with such extracts from reviews upon the book or other opinions of its merits as they think will encourage purchase. The amount of advertising done is determined chiefly by what the publisher estimates as the possible sale for the book, and of how quickly and profitably it will respond to this sort of promotion. Some few publishers, however, particularly of recent years, have adopted quite a different policy and their advertising in the daily newspapers follows fairly closely the model set by promoters of patent medicines, and department stores.

Besides this sort of advertising there is another which, strictly speaking, is not advertising at all. This is done through the review columns which very many of the large daily papers, and some of the periodicals, have established as regular departments.

School book publishing is a business of its own, though conducted in some cases as a department of the general publishing business. School books include readers, spellers, arithmetics, geographies, physiologies, etc. The sale of such books depends largely upon the various school boards. Their selection usually results in a very large order generally calling for prompt delivery at a com-

paratively low price, and, consequently, an order of this kind is exceedingly gratifying and profitable to the publisher. The time and methods characterizing these "adoptions" — as the selections of the school board are called — differ in various states. The publisher usually delegates the actual solicitation to agents trained particularly for that sort of business. The members of the Board are usually interviewed. Some times "adoptions" result in sales of hundreds of thousands of a single work, though this also may extend over a period of from three to five years. Consequently the rivalry among the agents, as among the publishers, is keen and well worth the great expense attendant upon a campaign for adoption. It may be mentioned that as a provision of such adoptions, however, it is frequently necessary for the publisher of the successful book to take up and dispose of, on his own account, the copies of the book which his work has displaced. Moreover, during what is called the first term of its adoption the new book must be furnished by the publisher at a price lower than the figure which will be paid to him for it later on. This is called the introductory price. As guarantee of his good faith and ability to fill the order placed by the school board the publisher in every instance has to file a surety bond.

In one sense at least, because of its various complications, the school book business demands more intelligence, watchfulness and energy than any other branch of publishing. The books, too, must be well manufactured, both as to materials and artistic results, for they come under the closest of criticism and test, and every flaw, real or imaginary, is made the most of by competitors in the trade.

Poetry is the most disturbing form of literature presented to the general publisher's attention. Popular appreciation of poetry seems to be almost dead. This statement refers of course to the poetry written to-day; for an everlasting taste exists for the standard works of poetry, as is evinced by large annual sales of the numberless editions of these works. A few, a very few, of our living poets write what the publisher can issue with a fair hope of commercial profit; and one or two of them are yearly the authors of books which have what might almost be called a big sale. The books of poetry which succeed appeal to the emotional side of human nature, or deal with the pathos and humor of simple life; and, on the other hand, those poets who write of the profound or

the mystical seem not to be understood, or, at least, are not widely read. Such commercial success as has been achieved in this field seems rather the result of adventitious circumstances than the fruit of logical and sober judgment on the publisher's part.

In dealing with authors the publisher has only his own estimate of the manuscript and of the probabilities of its sale upon which to base his calculations of the price he should pay the author for the work. And this fact of course prohibits the fixing of any standard of compensation which might be applied to all cases. Moreover, the plan upon which any publication is to be issued has a great deal to do with the consideration to the author.

In those cases where the publisher prefers to own all rights in the printed form of the manuscript, and where the author is willing to allow this arrangement, a lump sum, agreed upon between the parties, is paid to the author, and his rights to the manuscript and to the books made from it from that time on cease, except of course the right to have his name placed upon the title page. Where a book has a very large sale such an arrangement is of course profitable to the publishers and less profitable to the author, since no continuous payments resulting from increasing sales accrue to the author. But quite another arrangement is usually followed. Payment is generally made to the author by the publisher upon what is known as the "royalty basis." That is to say, a certain percentage of the retail or wholesale price of the printed book is agreed upon, and, for each copy sold, the publisher credits the author's account with the amount due him. This may be ten, twelve and a half, fifteen, or, in very rare instances, twenty per cent.

Still another arrangement is that of a division of profits between the author and publisher. This is most often, perhaps, applied to publishing agreements on technical books; and by it, when all the expenses attaching to the manufacture and publication of the work have been met by returns from sales of that work, the net credits thereafter accruing are divided equally, a fixed charge agreed upon by both parties in advance being made for the manufacture of each copy of the book.

A fourth plan, which in reality is but a modification of the second arrangement, is that by which a royalty is paid to the author only after the expenses have been met, — these expenses being

reckoned and accounted for on the same plan as that employed in the half profit arrangement.

Authors occasionally have their books published for them at their own expense, in which case the publisher makes an estimate of the cost of producing and publishing the work and the author pays to him the amount involved, in such sums as are agreed upon. In this case the author generally retains the copyright and other interests in the book. It need hardly be said that where books are published at the author's expense it is almost always because the publishers cannot believe that they would be a profitable venture for him to undertake at his own risk. On the other hand, where what is known as "advance royalty" is paid by the publisher, it is because he (the publisher) thinks the book in question a very good commercial venture, and consequently is quite willing to advance to the author a stipulated sum, this sum to be deducted from the first royalties accruing to the author on account of the book. The payment of "advance royalty" has become more common of recent years owing to the competition among publishers for the work of a comparatively few very popular novelists; yet it remains a risk which many publishers regard as neither business-like, logical, nor reasonable under the very uncertain conditions attending the sales of novels.

The written agreements between authors and publishers with relation to the publication of books generally refer to the entire period during which a copyright and renewals upon any one work may be secured from Washington. After the expiration of this period any work becomes common property, and the publisher's exclusive interest in it from a legal point ceases. Consequently, any other publisher, after that time, may print the book without regard to the previous right of author and original publisher. To meet this competition the original publisher frequently has to bring out the book upon which copyright has expired in cheaper form, and, therefore, at a lower price.

The successful publication of periodicals is a problem toward the solving of which whole fortunes have been contributed frequently without profitable results. Some few publishers have been exceedingly accurate in their judgment of what the public wants, and their periodicals are consequently a commercial success almost from the start. The failures, however, outnumber the successes

one hundred to one. On the other hand, the few successes have been profitable not only because of the receipts they bring in directly, but also as advertising mediums for the house which published them; and it may be said that probably every publisher's ambition includes the issue of a periodical of large circulation and influential character.

The securing of such circulation is the very crux of the difficulty, but to explain exactly how a circulation is obtained would be impossible. Certain things are always done such as the wide advertising of the periodical, the distribution of sample copies wherever it is thought that they may interest readers who will later on become purchasers and a vigorous and widespread circularization by letters and prospectuses. But, aside from such general methods and securing the co-operation of the large distributing agencies, whatever is accomplished in the way of circulation results from the cleverness and energy of the circulation manager and from the ability and resources of the editor.

The profit to the magazine publisher in no case arises, however, from subscriptions to it or from its sales upon the news stands. The price usually asked for a copy of a magazine would not more than pay for the white paper, the labor, and the ink which enter into its making, to say nothing of the cost of the contributions it contains and the salaries paid its editors. It is from the advertising pages of the magazines that the publisher counts to make his profit. The business to-day indeed is at a point where only the most entertaining and informing of periodicals of the largest circulation can expect long to survive the struggle and continue to be commercially successful.

The advertising department has grown in importance at an astonishing pace. Advertising itself has attained to the dignity of an art. In fact advertising is the special subject of study in many schools throughout the country, and advertising men form a large profession, many members drawing high salaries. In book and magazine advertising that psychological understanding of what will arrest attention and encourage the reader to go through an advertisement is almost if not quite as important as in the advertising of medicine, groceries, or the wares of a department store. But less license in the matter of the wording and display of type is permitted in publishers' advertising than in other kinds because of

the greater dignity of books and bookmaking. This feeling may be more or less the result of tradition, nonetheless it persists; and the most widely respected publishing houses to-day in their advertising seldom go further than to make the most of the reputation of the author, the opinions of critics, and the special points of interest in the book advertised. Nor does advertising depend for its success upon the size of the advertisement. A five-line advertisement in agate type in a daily paper, if worded exactly as it should be, will accomplish more than a hundred lines carelessly phrased, or improperly presented in type.

Yet, when all is said and done, no amount of advertising, however clever, will push a poor book beyond a certain point. There must be in the work itself that which sustains the claim of the advertising and satisfies the reader's interest. If not, the publication will sell only until it is "found out." In other words, honesty and sincerity must characterize every move made in the promotion of a book from the advance work of the salesman to the phrasing of the advertising. Moreover, even when the publisher has done all this he can have no certainty of the results. There is probably nothing more necessary to the selling of any sort of goods to-day than liberal and clever advertising; there is no part of the publisher's business in which a larger amount of faith is needed. In very few instances is he able to tell what good, if any, a particular advertisement has accomplished — except, of course, in the advertising of those books which are not sold by the trade and orders for which consequently come directly to him from the reader of the advertisement. He can only go ahead, advertise to the best of his judgment and ability, and, if a profit results, continue his advertising as long as the general sales of the book seem to respond to that particular form of promotion. Advertising might well be called "bread upon the waters, but bread upon waters whose currents are almost uncharted." And not infrequently the item which wipes out whatever profit the publisher otherwise would have made upon a book as the results of sales is — the advertising.

THE PROFESSION OF ACCOUNTANCY

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Business is the most obvious if not the most potent force in modern civilization. It is the province of business to produce wealth or, more accurately speaking, to make latent resources available as wealth to mankind. Gold, silver, iron, coal, the fertile soil—all these exist, but until touched by the transforming hand of business they are of little or no service.

Business, to the individual, means private gain; but ultimately it must serve a larger purpose. Railroads are built and operated for profit—not for philanthropy. Yet how much they contribute to the comfort and convenience of the community! The telegraph and telephone in the public eye are purely business enterprises; but in the contemplation of their function we seldom think of the stockholder and his dividends. We view them rather as great public utilities without which our modern life would be sadly crippled—or impossible. A manufacturer or a merchant expects to reap a personal reward for his enterprise and efforts, but if his factory or his store does not do more than enrich him, in short, if it does not add to the wealth of the community it will not long survive. A community without wealth may be, theoretically, very attractive but progress and the fulfillment of the purposes for which the human race was created will begin only when that community takes its first steps in the accumulation of wealth.

The world has been remarkably slow in its appreciation of the broad and ennobling aspects of business. Trade was too long frowned upon as sordid and unworthy, and even now what may be termed the business professions have to struggle for elbow-room.

Recent years have witnessed a remarkable increase in the wealth of the world. It is quite safe to say that this addition during the past fifty years has been greater than that of the first fifteen hun-

dred of our present era. One of the direct results of this immense accumulation is the changed methods by which it is managed. The control of vast interests demands exceptional ability. Hence, the tendency has been strongly toward large corporations where huge sums, whose ownership is scattered among many, are under the management of the few.

Books or written accounts have been recognized from time immemorial as an essential element of business — the clay tablet of antiquity bearing striking testimony to the care with which ancient peoples recorded their transactions. When business was conducted in a small way and mostly by individuals on their own behalf the accounts relative thereto were correspondingly simple; but with the transition to a more complex form of organization and method of administration, the accounts have ceased to be a mere record, valuable as history or as an aid to memory. They have become the chief means of control.

Management rests no longer with the individual owner. It has passed to those who, by reason of special talents, act in a representative capacity. Their ability and fidelity are judged by the accounts. The real owners — the stockholders — oftentimes never see their property, and their basis of judgment is the balance sheet and accounts presented to them from time to time. The representatives of the owners — the directors and officers — cannot be personally familiar with any but the general aspects of a large business, so that they in turn conduct the enterprise in hand through employees and agents whose usefulness is determined in many, if not in most instances, by the statements prepared from the accounts. The accounts are, or should be, to the business organization what the nerves are to the human body — the effective means of control.

It therefore becomes a matter of the first importance in the administration of any large enterprise that it adopt a system of accounts that will accurately and promptly reveal every manifestation of the current upon which the business is embarked. The management must steer the course according to the chart. Many a fine business finds itself hopelessly upon the rocks because, in fancied security, a course was set contrary to the significant facts or real indications which should have been ascertained and would have been known had not the accounts, at some point, failed to indicate the course of safety.

While this is especially applicable to affairs of magnitude there remain, and doubtless there always will be, many enterprises doing a small business, and unless these observe the same economic laws they will either be forced aside or swallowed up by their stronger competitors. Growth, and expansion come only in this way. Proper accounting is as essential in a small business as in a large one. Methods that are less complex meet the needs of the former but the general principle involved is the same.

The accounts, then, of modern business concerns are an element vital to success. They may bear little resemblance to the labored entries of simple sales and purchases, of cash received and cash paid out, which constituted the main features of the business records of a few decades ago. Time was, when a notched stick split in two, one piece in the hands of the creditor and the other in possession of the debtor, was sufficient record of a business transaction, but a great railroad system or a department store was then an impossibility — impossible even had it been contemplated.

The growth of business, both in its proportions and in its complexity and ramifications, has created a demand for men specially qualified and trained to deal with business problems from the viewpoint of the accounts. The answer to this demand is the public accountant. Let us look for a moment first at his history, next at some of the things he aims to do, and then at his equipment for a complex and highly responsible service.

On the other side of the Atlantic, particularly in Scotland, the public accountant has had a fairly well defined position for about a century. In England the public accountants during the past fifty years have formed a large and influential body, and enjoy a standing comparable to members of the legal profession. In this country the public accountant is a more recent development, having had but little prominence or influence until twenty years ago or less; but during the past five or ten years his progress in numbers and importance in the business community has been very rapid. Even yet, however, people who should be better informed, look upon the public accountant as an "expert" or sort of master-book-keeper.

The work of a public accountant may be roughly divided into two classes — first, the devising and installing of systems of accounts,

and second, the audit and examination of accounts. The first is constructive or synthetic, the second analytical.

The accounting system of a business should be carefully designed to meet the requirements of that particular business. It must also be accurately adjusted to the general and incidental needs of each situation, having, moreover, regard not only to the usual objective requirements of the class of business in question, but also, at least to some extent, to the personal idiosyncrasies of those in charge of the enterprise. This line of work is interesting and its results are of permanent value to the client.

To be successful a public accountant must be able to grasp quickly the essential features, the statics and dynamics, the risks and possibilities, of any business, and to comprehend and apply the principles and forms of accounts best suited to the case in hand. This involves not only a knowledge of the forms and methods used in recording transactions—and this is a constantly growing science upon which he must keep fully informed—but also calls for the ability to fit men to measures in such a way as to secure satisfactory results, even though at times the materials are somewhat refractory. Much tact and patience are required to perfect an organization that will reduce, say a manufacturing establishment that has been running for years in a rut, to new order and adequate control, and to do it without disrupting the staff to such an extent as to make the game not worth the candle. This means insight, discrimination, and not least, an agreeable address. It must be remembered that accounting is no longer a thing confined to the privacy of the office, but it reaches out in intimate relation to the most remote sections of the organization.

A change in accounting methods may provoke a strike of unskilled laborers, and the work of a public accountant in revising the accounting system of a client often shows the necessity of replacing many officers and employees who are no longer able to conceal their lack of fitness for the position occupied. There is need here for a quiet courage and a persuasive common sense. A more pleasant feature of the accountant's work is that it almost always brings to light other employees who are capable of development, but who, under the old order, were handicapped, repressed, or perhaps quite undiscovered.

Upon the analytical side the public accountant's activities have

a wide range. But it should be noted, in passing, that while, theoretically, the two main divisions of this work are quite separate, in practice they are closely associated — the constructive being but an outgrowth of and oftentimes supplemental to the analytical. Again, it frequently occurs that for the same client they go hand in hand for years, for a good accounting system, like machinery or other equipment, needs to be kept up to date.

The analytical work of a public accountant embraces such engagements as making investigations upon behalf of a prospective purchaser, for a proposed consolidation of two or more concerns, to determine questions of cost or profits under specific contracts, or to establish interests between partners. In other cases it may be to secure evidence to prove the guilt or innocence of a person or persons suspected or accused of the misapplication or abstraction of funds. In fact, in every business relation involving questions of funds or property, or the interpretation of contracts relating thereto, the public accountant may be called in to discover the facts and to point out their relation as cause or effect. In so doing he must be impartial — his attitude being that of a fearless judge, who must never become the advocate with a case to prove.

In addition to the various forms of investigation for special purposes, some of which have been mentioned, a large measure of the public accountant's attention is engrossed with audits and examinations for which he has been engaged to the end that owners and management alike may have the benefit of his critical supervision of fiscal operations.

As already noted, it is quite impossible for the owners of a large business to be personally familiar with its operations, and yet it is imperative that they should be assured of the truthfulness of the information furnished them. In like manner, those in executive authority must delegate their functions to subordinates, with an assurance that these be not placed under unnecessary temptation and act with fidelity and intelligence to the trust imposed.

Public opinion is fast forcing corporations that offer their shares and other securities for sale upon the exchanges to publish at least annually, some account setting forth the position of the company, and the results of its operations for the preceding fiscal period. At first these publications were made grudgingly and contained the minimum of information. More recently, corporate man-

agements have recognized that it makes for stability to be fair with the investing public, and there is a manifest disposition to have published accounts more full and complete. Still more recently, some of the more progressive corporations have taken a further step in advance, and have published with the balance sheet and accounts a certificate of a public accountant, to the effect that the accounts submitted have been audited by him and are not only in accord with the books of the company, but are substantially a true and correct presentation of the company's affairs.

Safeguards that are reasonably effective now prevent such shameless over-issues of securities as characterized the financial history of this country thirty years ago, but the enormous assets and liabilities of the large corporations of to-day offer an opportunity for dishonest or unscrupulous officers and directors to so manipulate the accounts as to leave the investor in the dark or absolutely to mislead him as to the condition of his property. This juggling of figures, coupled with stock jobbing operations that do not bear close inspection, constitutes one of the worst evils in the financial world.

Some attempt has been made to remedy this evil by legislation. For a long time this has been the lazy man's short cut — pass a law, create a department or bureau, appoint a chief with a train of assistants and examiners, and, like travellers in a sleeping car, everybody can go confidently to sleep. This procedure accomplishes two things. A modest income is provided for a list of government officials and employees, and what is of greater moment, the financial community is lulled into a sense of fancied security very far removed from the reality. It could not be otherwise than that this governmental inspection should occasionally do some good, but unquestionably the confiding faith in its effectiveness, upon the part of management and investors alike, has been the root of a manifold greater harm than all the good that has been accomplished.

At a time when agitation is rife in this country for an extension of Federal supervision and inspection the fact may as well be faced that governmental inspection of accounts is, and in the very nature of the case must be, a failure. A bank may suffer from dishonest officials or clerks, may be stripped almost to its furniture, and when forced to close its doors the story is, with unvarying regularity, that the official examiner time after time has come and gone. A year ago

it was a favorite form of advertisement for certain insurance companies in New York City to recount the number of states and governments that made frequent and rigid (so called) inspection of their affairs — and yet could the world have been treated to a greater *exposé* of the wretched inefficiency of this system of official inspection!

Bureaucracy and official red tape, which are inseparable from popular government with its divided responsibility and indirect means of control, can never regulate the accounting of a great business corporation with its compact, centralized organization. This is history as well as common sense.

A simpler and much more effective means of insuring fair and accurate statements of condition from corporations will be secured when public opinion demands that such statements, whether issued by directors for public information or by promoters as a means of securing subscriptions to proposed stock or bond issues, shall be accompanied by the certificate of a reputable public accountant. As stated above, some of the larger corporations in this country do publish such a certificate, while hundreds of others have such audits made for the satisfaction of the management. That corporations which are now inspected by government officials would not be averse to a general public demand for a certificate of audit by a responsible accountant, is evidenced by the public announcement of at least one of the "big three" insurance companies that such a certificate will be hereafter a permanent feature of its published reports.

Further indication of an awakening to a realization of the insufficiency of official inspection is found in the fact that in one of the largest cities of the country fully one-half of the banks and trust companies are now examined by public accountants employed and paid by the directors, who are also compelled to pay an additional fee for governmental inspection. The same practice is being widely adopted by banks in all the leading cities, and it is safe to predict that within ten years the audit by a public accountant and the publication of his certificate will be virtually a universal practice among well managed banking institutions.

The public conscience has recently been awakened to an extent that many things, previously overlooked as being a necessary yielding to conditions too entrenched to be overcome, can no longer be so treated. But much of the good that may be secured from this ethi-

cal revival will be lost if the public throws upon a governmental department a responsibility that should rest directly upon its own shoulders.

As an outgrowth of his business experience the public accountant has, it might be said, almost fallen into another relation to his clients — that of a business counsellor. To be successful a public accountant must be much more than merely a man of figures. He must get back of the figures to the conditions which they represent so that he can properly interpret them. He needs to know a great many things, and some of them he should know thoroughly. Aside from his preliminary education and knowledge of accounts he should be equipped with a knowledge of finance and the rules, customs, and general laws relating thereto, a reasonably comprehensive knowledge of the processes in at least the leading lines of manufacture, and an understanding of the uses, sources of supply, and means of acquiring raw materials. He should be familiar with the methods and customs pertaining to the distribution of goods, the operations of credit in its various relations, the most approved forms of business organization, and, while he is not a lawyer and should scrupulously avoid trenching upon the functions of the lawyer the public accountant should nevertheless possess a wide acquaintance with legal principles and their application to business affairs.

The field into which the public accountant has recently found his way is one in which he comes into a close and delightful relation to his client, and in it he is afforded an opportunity for the exercise of his best talents. Already in possession of the inside history of his client's business, and viewing the situation from an unbiased standpoint, supported in his conclusions by his knowledge of many other businesses, and with his reputation and standing in the community dependent upon the exercise of his best judgment, coupled with unswerving loyalty to his trust, the public accountant is worthy of the confidence of the client who consults him upon the problems of policy and administration confronting the organization for which he is responsible.

It seems almost certain that in the future development of accountancy the field of business adviser will form an important part. If this prophecy is fulfilled it will benefit the business community as a whole in that a well defined want will be supplied, and it will be of enormous advantage to the accountancy profession through the in-

crease of responsibility it will bear and its enhanced appreciation in the eyes of the business community.

The legal position of accountancy was not defined anywhere in the United States until 1896, just ten years ago at this writing, when in New York State the first "certified public accountant" or, more briefly, "C. P. A.," law was enacted. Similar laws have since been passed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Illinois, and a number of other States, and have now become general. While differing in details these laws prescribe the means by which a practitioner may obtain legal recognition through examinations set by State authority. The certificate granted to those passing the examination protects the use of the title "certified public accountant" and the letters "C. P. A.," and imposes certain penalties for breach of faith or for unprofessional conduct. The C. P. A. laws do not yet, however, prohibit others from practicing as public accountants. In States where such laws are in force and a definite, even though minimum, standard is thus set up, public opinion is crystallizing in favor of the accountant who meets the legal requirements, while it looks with some doubt upon the man who practices without a certificate.

These laws are generally recognized as only first steps which, with the growth of business and the increase of the accountant's responsibilities, must be followed by further enactments tending to raise the standard of proficiency and fixing more definitely the measure of legal obligations necessary for the protection of the public. Such laws can only determine the degree of attainment below which an accountant may not engage in practice, but the profession generally recognizes the fact that the moral responsibility resting upon its members is and must remain always in advance of those requirements set forth in the letter of the law.

To creditably discharge the functions of a public accountant a person must possess native ability of at least a fair order and acquire attainments that rightly entitle him to claim rank as a professional man. His position is increasingly one of responsibility, dignity, and influence in the community. As yet, however, and this must be viewed as a temporary condition only, entrance to the profession is not by standards of training that are either very high or well defined, and it is more profitable to consider the subject of requirements of preliminary education and training from the standpoint

of the individual who wishes to be efficient and successful in practice.

To the young man about to decide upon a life career certain questions must be answered by each calling that presents itself for his consideration. Assuming that ease and the speedy acquisition of wealth are not the prime objects the young man has in mind, these questions are likely to be along the line of inquiry as to the permanency of results, breadth of personal development to be attained, and public appreciation to be enjoyed. Again, assuming that accountancy has made satisfactory replies to all these questions, the next interrogation of the young man will have reference to the best means of equipping himself for a career as a public accountant.

There is no royal road in accountancy, and he who would build high must first content himself by digging deep and wide his foundations. We have already seen that the public accountant is now called upon to discharge duties at once precise in details and comprehensive in scope, often requiring moral courage as well as mental discernment; and that in all probability the future will make much greater demands. To meet these he should have a thorough training in mathematics, including some degree of facility in the methods of statistical display. He must be able to present the results of his investigations in a written report and oftentimes must discuss matters of importance in meetings of various sorts, as well as appear in the exacting role of a witness in court. To meet these requirements he should command a ready, clear and forceful, if not graceful, use of the mother tongue. These are fundamental in accountancy. In fact, an education intended to fit a man for business life in any field should devote more attention to these subjects than is generally done by either schools or colleges. It is amazing to see how few business men, relatively, can write a concise, unequivocal, yet graceful letter.

After these branches should next be placed economics, not necessarily a full course of political economy as generally taught, but rather economics in closer relation to the every-day facts of business. Next should come an acquaintance with a foreign language, German, Spanish or French, one or all. The history of commerce should also receive considerable attention that the student may better understand the setting in which he finds the world of commerce

to-day. These are some of the studies on which special emphasis should be laid.

The question is sometimes asked, Should a young man who contemplates accountancy as his life work complete a college course, or is an academic or high school education or its equivalent sufficient?

Opinions differ among business men as to the value of a college training. Certain it is that the curriculum in the average college contains studies that are at least disproportionate if not absolutely of minimum business value. Even as mental discipline, they are of no greater importance than other studies which have the advantage of dealing with subjects directly and constructively related to modern life. Until recently such subjects were conspicuously absent from the curriculum. Educators are beginning to realize the necessity for a closer contact between institutions of learning and the everyday life of the community. Commercial education, out of the obvious necessity of the case, has forced its way to the front and is giving new direction to the trend of educational methods which have been fixed for so long as to be held as almost sacred. The same is true of manual training. Indeed the whole matter of educational values is in its new birth, and accountancy must not be left out of the count.

Most American universities have now made some provision for the teaching of business subjects, and many that have not done so are earnestly considering the matter. The University of Pennsylvania and the New York University have taken advanced ground, and are now offering courses of study which, while liberal and comprehensive, are quite practical. In both these institutions accountancy and branches relating thereto receive marked attention.

In almost every field of effort, the number of men who have been successful without the advantages (and disadvantages) of a college training, would seem to prove that such a training is not essential. This much may be freely granted, but it is to be remembered that these successes were achieved in spite of, and not because of, this deficiency. The exceptional man will surmount difficulties, but that is no reason why the average young man should wilfully and unnecessarily encounter them.

The duties of a public accountant call for the exercise of a wide range of powers by a mind trained in, or at least in appreciative

touch with, many technical subjects; but, most of all, qualified to deal with complicated and delicate problems in a broadly judicial spirit. To accomplish this a young man requires discipline and training, and while he may succeed with only a common school or a high school education he is none the less handicapped by the lack of a more thorough training. On the other hand, the college graduate must not complacently overestimate himself by assuming that *because* he has been through college, he is therefore trained to competency.

If it is at all practicable a man desiring to enter the young profession of accountancy should add to his high school work a three or four years' course in a college or a university, devoting special attention to business subjects. He should next aim to spend at least three years as an assistant in the office of a public accountant. This training in practical work is a necessary supplement to class room instruction for all professions, and must be insisted upon in accountancy as much as in law and in medicine. The decline of the old preceptor-and-student system is a misfortune and accountancy should revive and insist on it as an essential coadjutor of the college. It is in this way that the young practitioner can best acquire a knowledge of human nature and most of all of the intimate and confidential nature of his relation to his client. It is in this way too he can best begin to adjust himself to a true professional attitude. This attitude is one that demands a full appreciation of the confidences that must of necessity exist between a professional man and his client. The obligation of secrecy in accountancy is as important and must be as clearly recognized as in the other professions. Many students would be unlikely to realize how absolutely vital this is until trained by experience.

Accountancy has now been recognized as a profession by legal enactment in at least seven States, and by leading educational institutions in the courses of study they are offering. As a profession it offers to young men a life work of dignity and wide usefulness, with financial rewards comparable to other and older professions. On the other hand, it demands of those who would wear its laurels, not only ability, tact, and common sense, but also courageous devotion to absolute truth, honor and justice. There is no profession in which high moral character is more essentially coupled with mental gifts and acquirements together with a capacity for vigilance and hard labor.

BUSINESS AND SCIENCE

BY JAMES T. YOUNG,

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Pennsylvania.

The eagerness with which American business men hasten to avail themselves of the newest scientific inventions and discoveries has produced two interesting results: first, the development of an extensive system of by-product industries; second, the creation of a sharper difference between the upper and lower grades of employment. Both of these changes have affected the field of University education. The perfection of industrial chemistry has brought with it the by-product, and the by-product has revolutionized manufacturing industry. This is the age of "allied" and "auxiliary" businesses in both industry and commerce. The growth of by-products has caused a demand for two different classes of men, technical experts or specialists and executive and commercial managers or "developers." The popular belief is that this is the era of specialization, but the field of the narrow business specialist is at present neither very profitable nor extensive. The technical expert who is employed to solve a limited class of problems is not the man who determines policies or guides enterprises. He may or may not be well paid, but he does not furnish the highest nor the most appreciated service to the undertaking. The indispensable man is he who can use the services of the specialist to develop new fields and open new opportunities for the business.

The common fallacy is to suppose that each corporation makes a specialty of one business,—that the more narrowly and closely each specializes, the better and more salable its product,—and the more intently each individual officer limits and concentrates his efforts within a given scope, the greater his success and his value to the corporation. "Let the shoemaker stick to his last" is the generally accepted view. It corresponds to a theoretical world in

which each step forward in economic progress is achieved by the formation of some new concern which concentrates its huge wealth upon the production of a single article. A system of education built upon this theoretical world as a basis would be subject to practical earthquakes. For the meat-packers sell soap; the gas company makes roofing pitch; the asphalt business includes the management of a winter hotel and the oil interests sell bank credits. The success of the department store is a standing protest against the theory of specialization. Each store supplants numerous special shops; its various departments do not succeed by devoting their attention to individual wares, but by developing or suggesting many new wants. The jewelry department profits from its residence under the same roof with the bookstore; and the sale of notions is reinforced by the café. Why should a firm spend large sums in advertising to attract customers to its establishment, but compel them to leave the building for luncheon? Why should a "shopper" leave the building at all? Hence the restaurant, the concert, the lecture on some interesting topic, the exhibition of paintings and war relics, the sleight of hand entertainment, and even the miniature circus performance in the department store. A specialized shop cannot compete because it is founded on a principle which is no longer applicable.

The production of oil has led to an especially interesting series of auxiliary enterprises. Crude and refined oil, petroleum jelly, gas, gasoline and light oils, fine and heavy lubricating oils, wax, paraffine, chewing gum, oil cake, barrels, tin cans, bags and wooden boxes are all manufactured in the various departments and plants of the industry. In addition, it has proved profitable to own and operate banks, steamship lines and various other commercial undertakings. The asphalt interests own or operate asphalt beds, paving companies, vitrified brick plants, paving-tool and implement factories, mines, trolleys, telephones and resort hotels.

In gas manufacture, tar, briquettes, light and heavy oils, dyes, creosote and coke are resultant by-products leading to the development of new markets and new departments of the business. The most successful meat-packing concerns have been directed by men who were able to develop extensive "allied" industries. Besides the usual dressed fresh, canned, dried and smoked meats, the packing interests manufacture soups, meat extracts, sausages, lard, toilet-

laundry- and wool-soap, gelatine, pepsin, glue, fertilizer, etc., and operate printing establishments, can, box and paint factories, extensive refrigerator car lines, and meat, fruit and vegetable refrigerating plants. In addition to the manufacturing side of the business, a wholesale organization has been built up which distributes some of the products throughout practically the entire domestic market.

Another instance of the faultiness of the impression that business success is won primarily by specialization may be seen in the field of railway management. The railway is commonly supposed to be the most highly specialized undertaking in the United States; yet it is one which requires a great breadth of view and the highest ability to develop widely varying resources. Many railway companies devote the most careful attention to the settlement of new business enterprises along their lines of traffic; they collect and distribute information concerning the cost of land, taxation, labor markets, freight rates, etc. As an example, let us take the efforts of such a line as the Erie to develop new business in the wonderfully fertile industrial field between New York and Chicago. This district comprises parts of the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The railway must convince manufacturers of the unusual advantages presented by this territory as a location for plants. To do this, the company through its industrial department has all the territory which is traversed by its lines districted in relation to resources, markets, hard and soft coal, gas fuel and other advantages for manufacturing, etc., it advises the manufacturers as to suitable locations and furnishes full information concerning local conditions.

These familiar instances show that while specialization is necessary to develop the chemical, engineering or technical side of industry and commerce, an entirely different kind of effort is required on the commercial and executive sides. Many a business which is popularly thought to rest upon the basis of specialization is, on the contrary, being developed as a series of interdependent and allied industries.

It is amid these new conditions that the man of broader viewpoint and superior mental training finds his most favorable opportunity. The expansion of the horizon creates a demand for new types of men. Those who are not prepared for the changed condi-

tions are by no means useless, but they are not available for the executive and creative work of the larger field. In the executive and commercial departments of each individual undertaking the degree to which narrow specialization is necessary frequently grows less as we mount in the order of official rank. The mechanical day-worker has only the most limited field of activity; the book-keeper, salesman and clerical helper are only slightly superior in breadth of scope, but with the superintendents and managers a different kind of activity is required. The problem confronting these latter officials is how to devise, establish and maintain new opportunities for the expansion of the business and the reduction of costs. The specialist is as incapable of doing this as the manager would be of doing the specialist's work. From this changed condition of modern industry it follows that the young man who is looking forward to a business career should decide whether he wishes to take up a technical specialty or to engage in the executive or commercial side of the enterprise. If the former, then his preparation should be directed along the lines of his specialty in chemistry, electrical, civil or mechanical engineering. If his work is of an executive or commercial character, he should be prepared for these important fields with as much care and thoroughness as for that of the technical department.

This last thought suggests the second change which is taking place in all forms of American industry and commerce,—the growth of a sharper distinction between the upper and lower grades of employment. The "industrial revolution" so-called is usually placed at the close of the 18th century, when a series of inventions in spinning and weaving and the development of steam-power industry impelled the laborer of the time either upward or downward in the economic scale. He was obliged to conquer for himself the position of an independent employer or to fall into the large and growing class of dependent employees. These inventions ultimately gave rise to a separate labor class, and developed the labor problem as we know it. But in reality this was only the beginning of a series of revolutions which have taken place with each new group of inventions in individual industries and establishments, and have not only widened the gap between employer and employee, but have created sharp lines of distinction between different grades of the employed class. The chief of these distinctions is that between

administrative or executive positions and other kinds of employment. Such a difference is recognized in countless ways,—in remuneration, social standing, personal views, hostility of organized labor, etc. The entire attitude of mind and point of view of the business executive are different from those of other employees; he must have an outlook over an entire department of the business. Those who through special ability and opportunity secure a foothold in the upper grades of employment are enabled to advance to the higher and even the highest executive positions, whilst those who fail to obtain this initial advantage, only span the gulf which separates them from the others by some unusual combination of effort and circumstance.

Furthermore, the difference between these two grades of employment is intensified by the already described specialization in the lowest rounds of business service. Such specialization not only prevents employees from learning all sides of an undertaking, but too frequently unfits them for the management of a whole department or enterprise by confining and limiting their sphere of action during the period of life when a broader habit of mind can be formed.

The young man who now enters industrial life with even exceptional ability therefore often finds his development seriously retarded by the inertia of routine in the lower positions and by the growing tendency to make a distinction between executive and other work. The employer cannot be expected to turn his establishment into an educational institution for teaching the broad and fundamental principles of his business. Yet these principles must be learned by the men who are to be the future managers and directing heads of the various departments in the concern. Banking does not consist of the operation of an adding machine or the running of a ledger. Merchandising is not the keeping of a stock list; railway management is not the carrying of a surveyor's rod, nor does manufacturing consist solely of mechanical drawing. Yet such is the character of the routine work which young men are very properly required to perform upon entering industrial or commercial life.

It is from these conditions that the need arises for some agency which will lift the beginner in business from the position of a routine automaton to that of an alert and intelligent though subordinate factor in the business organization and render him capable of

seizing opportunities for greater usefulness and promotion. Such an agency is offered by the University.

The beginner who has a proper University training may run the adding machine or perform the other routine duties with no greater success at first than the man who has not made a preliminary study of his field, but the relation of his routine duties to the entire business is better understood by the former, and these duties represent to his mind an intelligible and coherent part of a great business enterprise. In short, higher education for business should prevent the mass of necessary routine from obscuring the business principles which are being applied. The man who runs the adding machine, if he is to become eventually an acceptable candidate for promotion to higher positions in the bank, should familiarize himself not only with the checks which he is handling but also with the clearing house system, with bank deposits, the principal legislation affecting banks and trust companies, bank loans, circulation, etc.

Every beginner, no matter how great his education, must serve an apprenticeship in the lower rounds of business, but those who have no knowledge of business principles before entering upon the apprenticeship are apt either to gain a costly experience at the expense of the undertaking or to be relegated permanently to routine work. In the words of an official of one of the largest railways in the West, "No doubt a great deal of the shortsighted railway construction and expensive errors in maintenance and operation have been due to the lack of proper and systematic training; in other words, railway officers have been educated at the cost of the property."

Hitherto the application of science to business has been confined to the mechanical or technical sides of manufacture and commerce. Men's minds have been turned almost exclusively to the invention of machines and processes, the perfection of plant and other purely physical features of production. In these fields of effort the great triumphs of modern science over material obstacles have been won. But an equally great opportunity for the application of scientific principles exists on the side of business methods and management. The national and even international scope of industry to-day requires a far greater degree of perfection and accuracy in management than was formerly necessary or possible under the old system. The existence of this opportunity suggests a fundamental question:

Are there industrial, commercial and financial sciences — or scientific principles — capable of being applied to these branches of human effort? It will be admitted that the relation of the University to the business world depends upon the answer to this question. If such business sciences do exist and are capable of being taught in our institutions of learning, then the sphere of our great Universities is far broader than has heretofore been conceived. If such sciences do not exist, the rôle of the College or University is restricted, so far as business is concerned, to a simple general course. The possibility of teaching such sciences is therefore of cardinal importance in the development of a corps of trained men for the direction and management of large industrial enterprises.

When the manufacturer establishes a department of accounts, tries to trace his exact costs of production, makes contracts for purchase or sale, reorganizes a department of his plant, borrows money, considers market conditions and seeks favorable transportation rates, he confronts a series of problems which, in spite of the prevailing opinion, are not exempt from the usual laws of cause and effect, but are governed by certain influences and tendencies which may be studied, arranged and classified. His decisions on all these points are not made by some mysterious or erratic process of divination, but are governed by fundamental rules and maxims. The manufacturer may even observe these principles unconsciously, either from habit or because he has never voluntarily and formally codified them. But such rules and principles do exist and are followed, none the less. The work of each manufacturer in solving his own problems is repeated countless times by others. With slightly different circumstances of time and place and magnitude, some calculations must be made repeatedly in all parts of the country where such business exists. But is the experience so gained worth nothing to others? Is a correct decision on all these points the result of a mere whim of chance, and must each succeeding generation begin entirely anew the great scientific process of industrial organization and management, inheriting and bequeathing nothing toward the perfection of our economic system? Certainly the very statement of these questions affords their answer. The business man works out and follows definite, well-established principles. That they may be examined and ascertained is no longer a matter of question. The principles of transportation, credit, finance, business law, account-

ing, industrial management, insurance, etc., have all been arranged in systematic logical order and taught with precision.

Another instance, from the field of accountancy: the Accounting Department of a great undertaking is the intelligence bureau of the industrial army. It gives what is often the only reliable information which the proprietor can secure about his affairs. The difference between success and failure is often a difference between good and bad accounting, between accurate and inaccurate knowledge of the costs of production in different branches of the undertaking. One of the chief practical difficulties in the way of securing accurate returns is the problem of depreciation of plant. How much should be charged off for depreciation? Numerous instances are familiar to accountants in which the failure to rate this amount properly has led to a complete misunderstanding of the financial conditions of the enterprise. The danger is much greater in industries in which the machinery, tools, etc., form a large or a variable proportion of the capital outlay. The three methods generally employed are:

- 1st, to charge off an arbitrary amount each year.
- 2nd, to reckon annually a fixed proportion of the cost price.
- 3rd, to charge a certain percentage of the diminishing value of the machinery in such a way that, as the item of repairs rises, the depreciation charge decreases.

The relative value of these three methods can only be ascertained by a careful examination of the principles which govern their application under widely varying conditions. These principles, having been definitely ascertained from the experience of accountants, can be scientifically discussed in a University class-room and brought into proper relation with other important parts of the subject. The student who expects to enter either the manufacturing industry or the profession of accountancy or who, as a banker, may be asked to loan money on the basis of the valuation of a manufacturing plant, should certainly familiarize himself with the principles to be applied in the solution of such a problem.

The periodical bank statement with its items of reserves, loans and deposits has for the business community a significance which can be brought out clearly in the class-room. The relation which this statement bears to the amount of money available for loans for industrial and commercial purposes is such as to make it a valuable

indication of the changes and fluctuations of credit. In the field of transportation the various rail and water systems of the country should be studied by those who wish to enter either the railway business or any branch of industry which may involve an extensive movement of freight. Not only must the lines of transportation be studied, but also the economic geography of the various districts of the country with their products and economic facilities. A manufacturer with large railway interests, in writing of the importance of railway geography and shipping routes, says, "I have frequently noticed a lamentable want of knowledge, upon the part of young men in offices, of the simplest matters of the kind; comparatively few young men entering business really possess the most superficial knowledge of the railroad systems of their own states. The Transportation Department of any business is yearly becoming more important and is conducted upon a more scientific basis than formerly, so that it would seem a fitting course to be handled by an educational institution."

Such should be the character of the training of one who is to be employed in the administrative or executive work of a business enterprise. In all the fields of study mentioned and in many others, scientific treatises on the principles applicable to each branch of industry and commerce are appearing; the business reports, accounts, records and other material are being collected and systematized, and the methods of instruction perfected. Business science is no longer the dream of an enthusiast but an accomplished fact, and its results are now being rapidly brought to the service of the leaders of industry and commerce.

Finally the development and application of business sciences and their inclusion in the University curriculum have placed us in a position to cope with one of the great problems of modern American business, viz., the shortening of the period of active business life. With the concentration of business capital, the application of new inventions and the consequent demand for new types of men, there has come a new tendency to entrust to younger men the executive work of large industrial and commercial plants. The first few notable instances of this change were regarded as purely fortuitous, but the same thing has recurred in nearly all the large industries of the country until it is now seen to mark an essential and important change in conditions. The new system has obvious disadvantages.

It creates an unsteadiness or uncertainty of employment in the higher rounds of commercial life, and limits the practical usefulness of those who have passed beyond a certain age. We may even doubt if the change is a permanent one.

Its causes have been variously ascribed to the general inability of men who have developed under one industrial system to conform rapidly and successfully to a new set of conditions, or to the gradual nervous and physical breakdown of men in executive work, incident to the growth in magnitude of business enterprises, or to the ancient and amusing, but harmless, delusion that "competition in all walks of life is growing fiercer than ever before" and that only the younger men can stand this new strain.

But whatever its causes and disadvantages, the new age limit must be reckoned with as an important feature of our industrial system. If the period of active work in executive positions is to be shortened, those who enter such work have imperative reasons for starting out with a more thorough mastery of the business sciences which are applicable to the undertaking. The shorter the period of activity, the more complete must be the preliminary training and equipment. Here again it must be insisted that no amount of practical experience can be substituted for such a scientific preparation. The rise of business sciences in our great Universities means precisely that the fruits of years of business growth and experimentation in the widely varying undertakings of an industry are collected, compiled and codified. Therefore if such sciences are taught as they should be taught, the student has at his command a review of facts and principles such as it would take him decades to acquire in the routine work of a business house. Heretofore it has been the belief of many business men that their sons "cannot afford the time" to take a College course. The advent of the University in the field of commercial, industrial and financial science means that a young man cannot afford the time to learn business in any other way.

JOURNALISM

BY GEORGE W. OCHS,

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The relation that Journalism bears to the other professions has entirely changed in recent years. Journalism has become a very potential, if not a chief, factor in the world's affairs. The advance of civilization may be measured by the dissemination of learning; it received its chief impulse from the art of printing — hence it may be affirmed truthfully that civilization entered upon its latest phase only when printing had attained its latest development, an important manifestation of which is the growth of Journalism. The press within a half century has become the chief medium of enlightenment; it has awakened the masses to full perception of their powers, and has established the fact that an alert and aroused public opinion is irresistible, the mightiest force evolved by modern civilization.

The role of Journalism in the drama of the world's development has entirely changed the character of the profession, transforming it into a complex vocation, which opens avenues for careers of diversified character. When we speak of a Journalist's training to-day it might mean the preparation for any one of the dozen or more branches of the profession, each one of which offers a rich harvest of brilliant trophies to the ambitious, capable student. It shall be the purpose of this paper to refer to these; also to explain briefly the duties they impose, whereby one can deduce the training and education that are essential.

Present Era of Growth

Journalism entered upon its present era of growth about a half century ago. Newspapers, prior to the discovery of the telegraph and the railroad, were insignificant and unimportant. Journalism in the early half of the nineteenth century saw its best expression in the weeklies and monthlies, which circulated to a very limited ex-

tent and were confined chiefly to polemics and political debates. It was not until the early thirties that the daily newspapers began to print any semblance of news. Even then, and for nearly twenty years thereafter, news constituted their least important feature. Sixty or seventy years ago the newspaper printing press was a crude, cumbersome, awkward implement operated by hand, scarcely capable of producing one thousand impressions a day, while white paper was selling at 30 and 40 cents per pound, manufactured by antiquated processes from rags. Type was set by hand; in fact, typesetting had made little progress from the days of Caxton to the dawn of the twentieth century, when the wonderful Mergenthaler linotype or typesetting machine was invented. Compare the Washington Press, which was in vogue sixty years ago, having a capacity of 1,000 little quarto sheets per day, to the octuple printing machine with a capacity of 40,000 sixteen-page papers per hour, pasted, folded and counted, and some conception is conveyed of the progress made within the memory of men yet in active life.

Reduction in the cost of paper has been an important factor; instead of costing 25 to 35 cents per pound, as was the case seventy years ago, it is now manufactured from spruce wood and delivered on spindles in the press room at a cost averaging 2 cents per pound. Sixty-four pages of the average newspaper size weigh a pound; the average metropolitan newspaper contains 16 pages — hence, in each copy there is one-fourth of a pound of white news print paper, costing one-half cent. The one-cent newspaper is sold to wholesale dealers at about 50 cents per hundred, practically the actual cost of the raw paper which it contains — hence, it is readily understood that the profits from newspapers of this class are not derived from circulation receipts. On the contrary, the total circulation income of the one-cent newspaper very rarely equals the cost of the white paper, plus the transportation charges.

The advent of the one-cent newspaper, however, produced a revolution in Journalism. An enormous distribution resulted and a complete transformation in mechanical appliances followed; chief of these were (1) the development of the rotary press to its present state of high efficiency, (2) the improvements in stereotyping, with the attendant multiplication of plates by quick processes, (3) the typesetting machine — three notable mechanical triumphs of the last quarter century. The enlarged clientele stimulated activity, devel-

oped enterprise, brought the newspaper to all classes; it gave the press the impulse by which it leaped to its present position of commanding importance and prodigious influence. It was raised to a plane where now it may stimulate the ambition of the most aspiring, opening avenues for achievement, which are excelled by no other profession.

Newspaper Statistics

There are about 25,000 newspapers published in the United States, of which about 2,500 are issued daily. The amount of capital invested is enormous, the expenses of a metropolitan daily more often exceeding than falling below \$1,000,000 per year. The expenses of several daily American newspapers exceed \$10,000 per day, \$4,000,000 per year; two or three exceed \$6,000,000 per year. According to the United States census for 1900, 107,000 persons are employed on the American newspapers and about 1,000,000 are supported directly and indirectly by the newspaper industry; the receipts of the newspaper publishers are given at \$175,000,000 for the year 1900, \$95,000,000 of which came from advertising and \$80,000,000 from subscriptions. The total number of copies of newspapers and other periodicals issued each year in this country exceeds 8,000,000,000 or over 100 copies for each man, woman and child. At the beginning of 1800 there was one newspaper for every 26,450 inhabitants; to-day there is one for every 3,500. These statistics convey some idea of the amazing extent to which newspaper making has grown in this country.

Before discussing the proper education for a journalist, it is necessary to dwell to some extent upon the organization of a newspaper as at present constituted and to enlarge upon the methods by which it is produced. As the ramifications of the twentieth century newspaper are better understood, the variety and versatility of talent required in its production will be more easily comprehended and can be more intelligently analyzed.

The organization of the newspaper consists of various departments, each one of which offers possibilities as a vocation. These may for convenience be divided as follows — Business Departments, consisting of the usual auditing branches; the Circulation, Advertising, Mechanical, News, and Editorial.

The Business Management

The large investments and enormous operations of a metropolitan newspaper make its business management of prime importance. It is organized as a banking institution with cashiers, auditors, bookkeepers, clerks, collectors, besides an elaborate organization of checking clerks, whereby intricate records are kept of every line of advertising that appears each day, together with comparative tables of all the lines of advertising in classification in all the other newspapers, both morning and afternoon, that are regarded as competitors. Careful records are kept of all news print paper received; it is reweighed and a close account is made of the consumption, the production per pound, the waste and the tare. Records are kept of the ink, its quality; the oil, waste, fuel, the renewal of machinery, betterments, repairs and all the infinitesimal details which enter into the operation of a large plant. The publication of a newspaper, with its stupendous presses, electrical and steam plant, stereotyping outfit, linotype batteries and zinc etching paraphernalia, requires complex and intricate machinery, demanding the highest mechanical skill and the most delicate and painstaking care.

Mechanical

The investment of capital in a newspaper enterprise is enormous. A large newspaper requires from 30 to 50 linotype machines, each costing from \$3,000 to \$3,500; one American newspaper has installed as many as 70 machines. Each machine does the work of six typesetters. Each machine composes in a period of eight hours from 40,000 to 50,000 ems of type. Men of the highest skill are required for the presses, each of which represents an outlay of from \$25,000 to \$50,000. The pressman must not only have a machinist's experience and skill, but in addition must possess expert knowledge of the delicate operations of the complicated perfecting web press. The linotype machine is almost human in the assembling of matrices into lines in response to the operator's touch on a keyboard similar to a typewriter, casting at the same time a line of the assembled matrices into a line or slug of type, and by the same motion redistributing into its proper channel each separate matrix. This, as may well be conceived, requires an intricate machine, the care of which offers a career in mechanics.

Stereotyping

It should be remembered that a newspaper is not printed from the type. The type, after it is arranged in a form to represent one page of the newspaper, is reproduced on a sheet of papier-mache. This is dried, and from this mould is cast a convex plate on which is reproduced the facsimile of the type surface; this plate is fitted upon the cylinders of the press and from its surface the printing is executed. The conversion of the dried paper into the convex plates is called stereotyping. This is now done by machinery of a very complicated nature, whereby the time consumed in producing a plate is only one-tenth of what was formerly required. Here again there is need for skill and dexterity, as well as a knowledge of machinery and mechanics. Zinc etching is carried on to a large extent in some offices, where there are profuse illustrations, and in all to some extent. By this process a subject is photographed on a zinc plate which is covered with a chemically prepared surface; this is then immersed in a bath of acid, which eats out the metal where it is exposed, thus reproducing the lines of the photograph. The machinery for perfecting the plates to produce the marvellous results seen in the illustrated papers requires the highest skill as well as careful training and delicate taste.

The steam and electrical plants, added to the special mechanical departments enumerated above, all of which are essential parts of the modern newspaper, comprise an elaborate and extensive equipment where scores of operatives of highest skill are employed, who have many opportunities of winning fame and fortune for superior workmanship or mechanical achievement.

Circulation

The Circulation Department is an important organization, requiring, as it does, supervision of the city distribution, and mail subscriptions; dealings with the wholesale agents and care of the multiplicity of country agents, whose number will reach into the thousands. In most of the large cities the local distribution is entrusted to wholesale agents, but at Philadelphia the old-fashioned carrier system has endured. There are there about 275 carriers, who have apportioned the city into districts or routes. Each carrier owns his own route, provides his own distributors and collects from

each individual subscriber. These routes constitute a considerable asset, having recently sold as high as \$4,000 each. They are traded in, bought and sold, bequeathed and acquired like any other tangible asset. The practice of canvassing for subscribers with premium offers has become very extensive. Some newspapers offer all varieties of merchandise as premiums, and hundreds of thousands of dollars are invested in this way. All newspapers do not engage in premium canvassing and by some it is sternly discountenanced as unethical, but very large circulations as a rule, with few notable exceptions, have been quickly acquired through this method. One newspaper added in one year 75,000 circulation by giving to new subscribers for 50 cents, payable in instalments of six cents per week, a Bible which cost \$1.75. The *London Times* is reported to have realized a profit of over \$750,000 by the sale of an encyclopædia in connection with the newspaper. The work in the Circulation Department, where premiums are offered, gives numerous opportunities for original thought and creative talent, and to be successful requires a knowledge of human nature and keen business instinct."

Advertising

The Advertising Department in itself is a profession and offers attractive careers, which can be better understood when it is remembered that the total amount expended in this country in 1900 for advertising equalled one-eighth of our total foreign imports, including grain, cotton, machinery, and exceeded half our total exports in 1862.

In recent years the recognition of advertising as a separate vocation or a specialized profession has resulted in the organization of schools for advertising in every large city in the country. Newspapers devoted to advertising have sprung up by the score; advertising agents have multiplied with the most amazing fecundity, and a literature has been produced devoted to this one especial branch. Some of the American colleges have chairs of advertising, and nearly every commercial school and college in the country has important branches devoted to the subject. Every newspaper has associated with it men who are skilled in this art. Here again that touchstone requisite in every branch of journalism — the knowledge of human nature, — is the secret of success.

Art advertising is the æsthetic phase which involves the deli-

cate transformation of a subject into artistic expression; the talents which inspire the painter and guide the sculptor, are here employed, but there must be something besides: that indescribable, occult faculty of arresting the eye of the reader through some happy phrase, some skilful arrangement of display, or some lucid explanation of facts; something that will convey with instantaneous definiteness and conviction the idea that is sought to be expressed. Herein lies the art, the science and the expertness, which can be partly acquired by practice and precept, but its highest manifestation comes mainly by natural instinct.

Editorial Departments

The Editorial departments may be divided into three branches — the Editorial, the News and the Local. The three, though distinct in their respective duties, are so closely allied in their common purpose and in their achievement that the equipment which yields the best results in one is a *sine qua non* in the two others. An editor who fails to understand the value of news, who lacks the faculty of distinguishing between what is suitable for publication from the standpoint of popular interest, is sadly deficient in the elemental requirements of his profession, while the News Editor or the Local Reporter who cannot discriminate between the nicely balanced points of a news story, extracting its real meaning, interpreting the real relation it bears to events that have preceded or its influence upon what may follow — in other words, who has not the knowledge, the comprehension and the breadth of intellect to deduce the real import of a current event, which, in the last analysis, is the chief editorial faculty — is in the wrong place and will be very speedily displaced.

Let us first consider how a newspaper is produced and we will then be better prepared to discuss the relations which the various editorial departments bear to one another.

The publisher represents the proprietorship and has the supervision of all the various departments which have been referred to above. The heads of each confer with him at various intervals during the day; it devolves upon him to secure men of capacity and to supervise the efficiency of each. The responsibility for the tone of the publication, its general character and the direction of its business activities rest upon him; its general policy on public questions is

in his control, but seldom expressed without the advice and concurrence of the editorial council.

The Council consists of the Publisher, the Editor-in-Chief, the Managing Editor, the City Editor, the chief Editorial writers and often includes the Telegraph Editor, the State Editor, the Night Editor and the Night City Editor, the two latter functionaries being confined to morning newspapers only — though the latter four usually meet at a later council along with the Managing Editor and the City Editor.

The Editor-in-Chief, or the Editor, as he is usually designated, is the writer of the leading editorials; he largely influences the policy of the paper, though on chief issues this is decided after consultation at the council table. Next to him comes the Managing Editor, who is responsible for the assembling and presentation of the news, and has general direction of the operation of the Telegraph and Local Departments; he often also contributes editorials, yet his chief function is the direction and general supervision of the news. The editorial writers each contribute one or more editorials, aggregating in all 1,000 or 1,500 words each day, but they have besides various duties apportioned to them outside of editorial writing, such as supervision of certain exchanges, direction of book reviewers, editing correspondence, etc. Each editorial writer is supposed to have a special aptitude or training in certain branches; one usually treats economic questions, another foreign politics, a third sociology, a fourth industrial subjects, a fifth scientific questions, and so on, but each editor must have diversified attainments to be able to properly discuss any subject that may be assigned to him in an emergency.

The exchange editor is an important functionary; his duty is to carefully scan all the exchanges — every newspaper receives several hundred daily — to collate from their columns matters deemed worthy of reproduction or that suggest subjects which may be treated from a local standpoint. He must be alert, keen, and able instantly to perceive the applicability of what is printed in other newspapers to the clientele he serves.

The Associated Press

The organization and development of the great news gathering institution known as the Associated Press revolutionized the news-

paper profession. Before its creation, each newspaper in gathering news was compelled to depend upon its own resources and ingenuity to establish bureaus and correspondence agencies at all important points, and to keep a watchful eye over all the civilized globe. The expense of attempting to obtain and transmit even the chief events at the capitals of the world was beyond the resources of any one institution; hence until some plan of co-operation and division of expenses was devised, the newspapers could afford comparatively little telegraphic news. At length plans looking to this end were inaugurated by the leading newspapers and after several years of experimentation and more or less expensive competitive efforts, the American newspapers united in the formation of the greatest news-gathering association the world has yet known, called the Associated Press. This association is organized on the co-operative plan, each subscriber being a shareholder and a mutual owner of the news; no dividends are declared; all the receipts are expended in the gathering and transmission of news. Each newspaper is assessed a fixed tax each week, the amount being based upon the individual newspaper's relative importance. In the large cities this tax ranges from \$125 to \$200 per week. The local agent of the Association has access to all the local and neighborhood news gathered by each separate newspaper of its membership; hence the Associated Press has at its command the united effort of some seven hundred daily papers whose expenditures in the collection of local news will aggregate millions of dollars each week. It has moreover its own correspondents at every important point in the world, besides having alliances for the interchange of news with all the news associations upon the habitable globe, the whole producing the most complete, exhaustive and comprehensive news gathering system ever conceived by man. Its own operations involve an expenditure of over two millions per year. Reports of all events deemed worthy of transmission are assembled at different central points, where the news is collated and edited and in turn transmitted to the various subscribers.

A metropolitan paper receives from this one source alone within twenty-four hours at least 50,000 words by wire; it represents the united effort of the local staffs of at least seven hundred newspapers, together with the labors of an innumerable number of spe-

cial correspondents, involving an outlay which no one establishment could conceivably assume.

The News Service

In addition to this news service, the large papers have their own special correspondents at the national capital, also at the more important cities, besides special men at foreign centers, who supplement the news of the Associated Press and also take up international questions from a semi-editorial point of view.

Furthermore, every newspaper has correspondents at all points in its tributary territory, who transmit occurrences by mail and wire. Even this is supplemented by special staff men who are sent out from the main office to cover elaborately events that are deemed sufficiently important.

This mass of telegraphic matter is transmitted over the regular telegraphic wires at special press rates ranging from one cent to one-third of a cent per word for domestic messages and from 10 cents to \$3.00 per word for cables. The larger newspapers have in addition their own leased wires from Washington and other points, which are at their exclusive command.

Only a small proportion of this stupendous mass of telegraphic matter finds its way into the columns of the newspapers. The total received might aggregate 100,000 words per night, representing at least 70 columns; the average amount used is perhaps one-fourth of this, rarely so much.

The telegraphic matter is edited at the General News Desk and the State Desk, in charge respectively of the Telegraph and State Editors; all news relating to sports is handled by the Sporting Editor, and all financial news, quotations, etc., by the editors especially assigned to those departments. The Telegraph Editor must reach quick judgment and make instantaneous decisions. As the pages of telegraphic news reach him he must immediately absorb their import and fix their value. He then passes the matter to a sub-editor with instructions either to edit, condense or rewrite; many dispatches are entirely rewritten; very few can be inserted at the full length at which they are received. As the news of the Associated Press is gathered and transmitted for use in all parts of the United States, the relative local values cannot usually be observed. For instance, a railroad disaster or a fire is in truth a railroad disaster

or a fire, whether it occurs in California or in Pennsylvania. The Associated Press is compelled to procure all the facts in either case, having in view both its eastern and western constituency; yet it is evident that the newspaper at Philadelphia need not give the occurrences on the Pacific Slope the same space it accords to similar events near at hand. In all cases the Telegraph Editors must discriminate and quickly decide what space should be given each item. Necessarily enormous quantities of telegraph matter must be cancelled or thrown aside; in fact the matter thrown aside considerably exceeds the matter printed.

The Local Department

The most elaborate division of the editorial staff is the Local Department. It is directly in charge of the City Editor, whose chief lieutenants are the Day and the Night City Editor. The special local services dealing with such matters as Legal News, Financial, Art, Dramatic, Religious, Society, Music, Marine, Railroads, Real Estate and Sporting are each in charge of editors who have both by education and training, equipment for those particular branches; these are again subdivided, especially Sporting and Society, which have their own staff of reporters, the number depending upon the policy of the paper in treating those branches.

A newspaper for example, which devotes close attention to Legal Intelligence, employs three editors who give their entire time to court proceedings and legal news; the value of Society news is estimated differently among newspapers; by some, one reporter only is employed, by others there is an Editor in charge, with six or eight reporters under him, sometimes at large functions, ten or twelve. The Financial Editor on serious newspapers usually has sub-editors; the Sporting Department has men with special training in various sports; the Art, Music and Dramatic Departments are in charge of editors, who of course must have expert knowledge and critical judgment.

In addition to these regular Local Department divisions, reporters are assigned to the various districts of the city. Philadelphia, for instance, is divided into seven districts; one reporter devotes his entire time to each particular district, visiting the police stations, hospitals, and other possible news sources in his territory. In New York and some other cities, the newspapers have a local

Associated Press which covers the routine local occurrences, supplying each of the subscribing newspapers with such matters as court news, accidents, fires, real estate, marine, etc.

Besides these special assignments, the Local Editor has a general staff, which is assigned to all current events. Regular men cover local politics, the central police station, municipal buildings, schools, trade bodies, the learned societies, large meetings and the multitude of other activities which make up the life of a great city.

In addition, there are editors who are assigned to develop special stories and other general utility men and "free lances" who are on the alert for any event, incident or occurrence which might prove of interest to the public.

The City Editor keeps an Assignment Book where he enters detailed records of all "futures." With the aid of the Day City Editor he plans out the day's work. He is a general who must deploy his troops with the sagacity and judgment of a skilled tactician; he must have the entire city well in hand and well in mind, covering every possible avenue of news and providing in every conceivable manner against a contemporary's "beat."

The Night Editor

The result of all the planning and manœuvring of the City Editor at length reaches the Night City Editor. It is the day men who sow, the night men who reap, and not infrequently when the night city editor discovers that he is allotted fifteen columns of space and sees piled on his desk and in process of incubation perhaps forty-five columns, he may well exclaim with the prophet, "They who sow the wind reap the whirlwind."

All the local matter when prepared by the reporters is passed to editors known as copy readers. They carefully go over each line, erase, elaborate, change phraseology, rewrite, condense, amplify and sometimes reject; they also write the headlines and give the articles a final finish for the typesetter.

All the manuscript goes from the editors to the night editor and is sent by him to the composing room, where it is distributed to the typesetters; as fast as a column is finished, or in the vernacular, "set"—proofs of it are taken ("pulled" in the vernacular) and copies go to the proofreaders, managing editor, the various

editors, also to the autocrat of the morning newspaper, the night editor.

It is with the Night Editor that the final arbitrament rests. It is he who ascertains what space the advertisements will require, the number of columns to be allotted local, telegraphic and other news, considering in this calculation the space for the various fixed departments. He consults freely with the managing editor and is under his direction. Their joint decision fixes the number of pages. This depends upon the amount of advertising and the quantity of important news that "must go."

The night editor examines all proofs with hawk-like scrutiny; he knows all the news in hand and in sight. As the time approaches when the pages must be assembled for the various editions, he takes his stand in the composing room, directs where the various articles are to be placed and how the pages are to be arranged. Experience enables him to read the type with the same facility that one scans a printed proof; with the skill, judgment and rapid decision which only an alert mind and quick intelligence can provide he chooses from all the type that is at hand, glancing over many columns, selecting, altering, reducing, cancelling, transferring, and placing each item in proper grouping; locating the matter according to its relative importance and keeping always in mind the proper sequence and relationship of the hundreds of separate subjects that the day's news develops.

The Publisher's Qualification

The question is now pertinent what is the proper qualification and equipment for a journalist? Is a college education necessary? Mr. Pulitzer, one of the successful American journalists, answers it in the affirmative. He proves his faith by inducing Columbia College to accept an endowment from him of \$2,000,000 to establish a Chair of Journalism, and maintains that before the century closes, Schools of Journalism will be accepted as a feature of specialized higher education like schools of law or of medicine.

Charles A. Dana, another eminent journalist, maintained, on the other hand, that while college education is of high value, business training, "understanding the rules of business and the means and methods of business are quite as necessary." Mr. Pulitzer, however, believes that Journalism and business are wide apart and

asserts, "If my wishes are to be considered, business instruction of any sort should not, would not and must not form any part of the work of the College of Journalism." He maintains that few men in the business office of a newspaper know anything about the principles of Journalism, and argues at length that the profession should have no relation whatever to business. But business training is certainly of great advantage; the journalist out of touch with practical affairs lacks an essential qualification.

The publisher must be many sided; he requires editorial ability, news instinct and business acumen, yet these three faculties are seldom developed in one individual; he may not be an encyclopædia of knowledge; he may not have profound learning and liberal education, yet he must have clear vision, broad judgment and quick receptiveness; he must be capable of surveying the occurrences all over the world with healthy, intelligent, practical common sense.

As director of the policy of the newspaper he becomes in fact the editor of the editors; as the controller of its business, he is its highest business authority; as the responsible head for its news qualities, he must keep vigilant supervision of accuracy, completeness and timeliness in this respect. Neither college training nor scholastic research can furnish this diversified equipment.

Its essential element is broad, well-balanced intelligence; a clear perception and high appreciation of the true mission of Journalism; a resolute purpose to conduct the newspaper for no faction, with no fad, free of personal political ambition or sinister material ends; inflexible determination to present the news as it actually occurs — truthfully, accurately, unbiased and uncolored; with rigid resolve to deal fairly by the public. It is quite as important that this sincerity of purpose be fully impressed upon all the staff. The publisher, in fact, embodies the soul of the newspaper; its character, influence and success respond to his personality as man heeds the impelling whisper of conscience.

The Editor

The editors should have a thorough collegiate education. This is of great service everywhere in a newspaper, yet it may be seriously questioned whether a Chair of Journalism will accomplish more than the ordinary academic training. The editor requires a wide horizon, broad comprehension, yet special equipment in a

few fundamentals. The subjects he must treat are infinite in variety, bounded alone by the limits of human activity. His audience gives scant attention to complex technicalities or abstruse theories; it quickly tires of a faddist and wearies of abstractions. Dry philosophy in highly spun, overwrought scholasticism is dead timber in the newspaper; it impairs its usefulness, impedes its progress and if persisted in will produce dry rot. The public expects from its editor vibrant, virile, practical guidance, treatment of public questions by one who knows the subject, interpretation of momentous happenings by analysts who are of the earth, earthy, who plumb the level of average intelligence. The editor needs range of reading with breadth of learning; to carry conviction he must impress his public as much with his good judgment and common sense as with his erudition.

It would be folly to attempt to catalogue the precise academic training the editor requires. There are certain fundamentals which naturally suggest themselves as absolutely necessary to his equipment, chief of which is a thorough grounding in English, ability to express himself in correct style, lucidly, succinctly and cogently. He should know the American Constitution, his State Constitution and the history of his own country thoroughly. The spirit of our institutions should be indoctrinated in him, and he should possess a clear understanding of sociology and political science, political history of all nations, and acquire some conception of researches in science and industry; he should be versed in foreign history, keep in touch with industrial activities and study the political situation in the chief countries of the globe. He must keep abreast of current literature, the best newspapers and the standard magazines, both American and foreign. He should understand something of the mechanical operation of the newspaper and have some little practical knowledge of how it is issued. Prudence, conservatism and accuracy are essential, whether he be a leader writer or engaged at desk work.

College Journalism

I fail to see where a special Chair of Journalism can offer training superior to that derived from the classical course at any first-class college. Specialization is a drawback. The editor's range of subjects is universal. Experience has proved that men of the high-

est specialized education are unfitted for the diversified duties of the editor. Men who have received the highest degrees at famous American and European universities, whose duties, however, have been confined to special research or application have universally proved unfitted for editorial tasks. A certain newspaper recently added to its staff at the same time six or seven men, all graduates of great universities. They had been engaged at a special work which required the ripest scholarship. Their college degrees were formidable; they had delved into the very depths of erudition and acquired honorary degrees and specialized attainments in literature and science, but their learning was characterized by intellectual subtlety, unemotional and purely scholastic; in every instance, without one single exception, they proved wholly unfitted for journalism.

The reader will inquire wherein the journalist differs from the scholar. The difference is radical. The editor must be a scholar, but the scholar may not be an editor. The editor requires in addition to his learning, a keen knowledge of human nature, a quality which is essential to success in every department of journalism. He should be thoroughly human, responsive to the throbbings of the great heart of mankind. He should be practical, free from pedantry, brimming over with common sense; control by any idea or fad is fatal unless it be the influence of instinctive, fundamental rudimentary common sense.

The Telegraph Editors

The editor in the telegraph department has unfolded before him each day a moving panorama of all the world; its sorrows and its joys; its triumphs and its despair; the gruesome chapters of vice, crime, misery, degradation; the sweet wholesomeness of life's beautiful deeds of philanthropy, charity, benevolence; the joyous laughter of happy children, the sweet music of marriage bells, the solemn knells of death, the end of hope, the triumph of achievement, dynastic shocks, polemics, revolution, political upheaval, party controversies, cataclysms of nature, the discoveries of science, revelations in philosophy and history, phases of industry, the rumble, the roll, the tumult, the full diapason of all the active hands, the earnest hearts, the pulsing minds of earth coming from a multiplicity of sources, assembled conglomerately before him for his disposal, instantly to be valued by him, interpreted and properly presented. He requires

a mind capable of close concentration and sustained effort; clear, decisive judgment, calm, dispassionate, discriminating intelligence; he must have some practical knowledge of editing manuscript and ability to extract the germ of a news item without destroying its meaning. He must be in touch with the affairs of mankind and should be well versed in history, geography, international politics and political science, to differentiate the wheat from the chaff, to perceive the possible relation of events, weigh their significance and properly judge their importance.

In the Local Department there is full scope to literary ability, style, original expression and constructive genius. By the system prevailing in most offices, the City Editor assigns special tasks. He usually allots reporters to duties most congenial to them or for which they have strongest preference. There is an indescribable quality in reporting known as "the nose for news" and "the news instinct" which no experience and no education can impart. As well try to create the music of Mozart, the art of Millais or the poetry of Milton as attempt to instill the news instinct in an unadaptable mind. The talent for news getting may be developed just as any other instinctive aptitude, but it cannot be created. Given the gift, it can be developed and strengthened by education and proper training. A reporter must have initiative, enthusiasm, activity, as well as the faculty of knowing what constitutes news; these are also characteristics which are inborn. He may be taught style, restraint and accuracy. The larger newspapers are giving more and more attention to literary tone and expression; often in the supposedly prosaic record of the local happenings will be found a gem of purest literature, a flash of genius, which discloses conspicuous talent and presages a brilliant career. Imagination is one quality which the reporter must suppress; also its twin, exaggeration.

Journalism and Its Tempters

Journalism is beset by many tempters; they pursue editors and reporters with blandishments, sophistry and lures of every kind to promote personal, political or financial ends. The scheming politician, the persuasive, plausible demagogue; the corrupt, base and dishonest scavengers wallowing in wild orgies of public plunder; the smug-faced hypocrites who, in the livery of benign benevolence, feed like vultures upon public rights; the smooth, insinuating pro-

moter who would beguile the public by some lure; the bold, law-defying conspirators who, to gain political advantage or acquire public privileges, will undermine the very corner stone of our liberties and constitutional rights — all must be avoided, sternly resisted and a deaf ear turned to their specious pleas. The editor, if he be a true journalist, consecrates himself to the public! He must meet whatever may arise with serene self-confidence, unfaltering in his fidelity, unwavering in his determination to maintain truth and expose wrong, regardless of the sacrifice, uninfluenced by all considerations, save what conscience and right may dictate. When statesmen falter, when administrators stumble, when popular delusions prevail, the editor is put to the genuine test; if he hesitate in affirming what he knows to be right, if he suppress truth that wrong may come, if he connive at injustice, vacillate, sail with the popular breeze, he basely betrays his profession and is irredeemably false to the ideals of his vocation.

Journalism as at present developed is the teacher of the innumerable hosts of a self-conscious democracy; it is the moulder of public opinion. Without the newspaper, popular judgment would be dumb and formless. Unless this public opinion be kept sane, healthful, uncorrupted, our nation cannot endure. Our democracy, constituting a republic far greater than the imagination of man had conceived, depends upon a free, enlightened, courageous press for its sustenance, its health and its perpetuity. Journalism is the orator that speaks each day with a million tongues to tens of millions of listening ears. In ancient days the sages stood in the market place and poured forth in eloquent phrases, words of wisdom to maintain administrative integrity, pure and undefiled; when this eloquence was hushed, when the listening throngs were taught by demagogues and false prophets; when the seeds of sophistry, selfishness, discontent and dishonesty bore their full fruitage, the fabric of freedom collapsed and from its ruins arose the Empire of the Cæsars. Do not the same evils to-day confront our republic? Do not the demagogic editor, the false teacher, the corrupt politician, the selfish promoter and the hosts of dangerous, self-seeking, unprincipled panderers to popular ignorance and passion — many of whom, alas, are in the profession of journalism, menace our institutions to-day? How much greater the responsibility, how much larger the possibilities, how much nobler the sacrifice, how far more triumphant the victory in

the face of danger such as this! And far above all, how much broader the opportunity and how much more vital the need for editors who "know the right and, knowing, dare maintain!"

The Yellow and the Red Journalism

An insidious evil has in late years crept into the press, an evil inevitable in a country that has experienced a growth such as ours. Our rapid development has created colossal fortunes, prodigious corporations, imperial estates, lavish expenditures, prodigal display, the concentration of power through enormous wealth — all of which can be distorted to magnify the inequalities in conditions of life, and adroitly used to produce discontent and unrest. The demagogic journalist, who is far more dangerous than the demagogic politician, was quick to invade this fruitful field. He realized the proneness of human nature to exaggeration and sensationalism; also that class hatred and popular discontent afforded rich opportunities for journalists of a certain type. They were at first called "yellow," a term which implied sensationalism. They dealt chiefly with the seamy side of human nature, giving unlimited space to tales of hideous crime, flaunting vice in its most abhorrent form in gross exaggeration, crawling like serpents across the thresholds of the home, and laying bare with vulgar display the most sacred confidences of the family circle; holding up to coarse ridicule the precious heritages of sanctified living; profaning the temples of virtue; dealing in salacious scandal and gorging to satiety those who have insensate hunger for pruriency and sensuality.

As might have been expected, this class of newspapers gained wide circulation and exercised a baleful influence on the American Press; soon, however, general disgust with their methods produced a marked reaction and the great mass of American journalists fortunately escaped the contagion which at one time threatened to become widespread.

Realizing at length that sensationalism had about exhausted itself, they were driven to new devices to maintain their circulation and keep general attention centered upon them — in the meantime being joined by certain weekly and monthly publications. They relapsed from "Yellow" into "Red," flaunting the crimson hue of anarchy beside the saffron shade of pruriency. They appeal to ignorance, discontent, malice and malevolence; they array failure

against success; inflame incompetence against capability; they teach that honor and integrity have fled from high places; that our National Congress is a den of thieves; that our Judiciary is contaminated; that our administrators are in corrupt league with scoundrels and traitors; that our entire commercial and financial life is infected and surcharged with degrading dishonesty; that rascality is everywhere rampant, permeating every avenue of trade, every circle of society; that the entire American democracy has become depraved, festered by the virus of universal wickedness and boundless corruption. Fortunately, this phase of "red" journalism — which ought to be dealt with under drastic penal laws — is confined to very few, and the healthful tone of the American press may in the end successfully resist this menacing attack; yet it strongly emphasizes the overwhelming importance of sane journalism and sane, self-respecting, sincere journalists. The harmful influence of this base slander on the American people in the present instance will be checked, but its baneful effect has stimulated the agitator, emboldened the traducer and has inspired the iconoclast with new hope.

Shall democracy, after all, succumb at the hands of these enemies of the Republic, or shall the sober common sense of an enlightened people successfully resist their insidious assaults?

The answer rests with the sane, sober journalists of the future. The press has a grave responsibility; the editor of the future is charged with a solemn mission. If our nation shall be preserved, if our institutions shall be perpetuated, if our constitutional rights shall be safeguarded, if we shall uphold those eternal truths which sustain a healthful, independent, contented, God-fearing and righteous democracy, we must have an upright, sane, ethical and honest press. An honest press, sane, conservative editors, and patriotic, pure and high-minded journalists alone are able to preserve inviolate to succeeding generations, untarnished and undimmed, in all purity, majesty, and glory, our national honor, our sacred institutions, the beloved Republic itself!

COLLEGE MEN IN BUSINESS

BY H. J. HAPGOOD,
President of Hapgoods.

Andrew Carnegie says that his success has been due to the men whom he gathered around him. His testimony is supported by the experience of hundreds of other business men who have found that their success lies not so much in the cleverness of their plans as in the men they secure to carry out these plans. Fifty years ago methods alone might have spelled "success" but to-day men, together with the methods, are the essentials.

The great importance of the human element in business is shown by the increased attention which it is receiving. Even ten years ago the great majority of employers conducted this feature of their business by rule of thumb, giving it secondary attention and that only during their odd moments. Nowadays, however, the heads of a great many large business concerns aver that they give more time to the selection of employees than to any other branch of their work. They believe this plan pays. The result in every case is a force of men who are first class in every respect. The employers know them all from the general manager to the lowest clerk, understand their capabilities and are always certain just what can be expected from them in the way of work. A force of men, which has been intelligently and carefully selected and in which the capabilities of each member are known to the employer, is one of the best assets any business can have. It constitutes a supply of human capital which is constantly increasing in value and which is absolutely essential to success.

Years ago in the days of small things a man's employees were not so essential for his success, for he had time to give personal attention to the various departments of his business. Nowadays, however, a large employer must have men who can give results without being watched—men with the inclination and ability to think as intelligently and work as hard as if the business were

their own. To secure a sufficient supply of such men, there have grown up organizations of employment experts and special employment departments in the charge of high salaried men who devote their entire time and energy to searching for capable men and putting them, when found, where they can work to the best advantage.

As head of one of these organizations, which is retained by over 20,000 leading employers to supply all the men they need for the more responsible business and technical positions, I have had exceptional opportunities for ascertaining the kind of men employers want. A special department of our business is devoted to supplying employers with young men of little or no experience and the records of this branch furnish valuable data on the subject of what training best fits a young man for success in the commercial world.

"What kind of qualities are demanded in men capable of being trained to fill responsible positions?" A leading newspaper asked this question some time ago of 500 successful business and professional men, most of whom were themselves employers. There was a singular unanimity in the replies received. Ninety per cent named capacity for hard work (some of them called it persistence or energy, but they all meant the same thing) as the first essential quality and nearly as many considered honesty next in importance. It is safe to say that this is the general opinion of the business world and that if 20,000 employers had been asked the question instead of 500, a large majority of them would have given the same reply.

As one employer forcefully puts the matter "What the business world needs to-day is not more ability. We have enough of that; in fact I sometimes think we have too much. What we need is more men who can and will use the ability they have faithfully and honestly. What we want and are willing to pay well for is men who combine with their ability, education and natural talents the capacity for hard work."

I regret to say, however, that men with this capacity for hard work and this strict integrity appear to be born not made. But there are many men in whom these qualities are not highly developed who will prove extremely valuable if they receive the proper training soon enough. Therefore, I believe the best way

to build an honest and hard working force is to take on men when they are young, give careful attention to their training and bring them up in the way they should go. This is the only sure way to build up just the sort of a force you want.

By young men, I do not mean those who leave school before they have reached the grammar grade but rather those from 18 to 23 years old who have received a good thorough education either along general lines or in some special branch and who are mature enough to increase quickly in value in spite of their lack of experience.

In advocating young men I do not mean to underestimate the value of age and experience. There are few concerns which could do business successfully with a force composed entirely of young men of necessarily limited experience. But too many old men are an invariable sign that the firm is drying up. It is no reflection on the ability of men who have given years to a business, but have already passed the prime of life, to advise that every employer keep constantly on hand a force of bright, capable young men whom he may train to take the places of the older men when the latter die, resign, or cross the narrow line which separates valuable experience from old-fogyism.

Every business changes rapidly nowadays, and the man who was thoroughly competent five years ago may now be out of date. To retain such a man in a responsible position is to add to the business a dead weight which is bound to seriously handicap it. Many employers are forced to this course because they have not had the foresight to keep constantly in training a force of young men.

With a reserve supply of young men to draw upon the head of a business will be saved the trouble and expense of filling responsible positions with new men who have received their training under another employer, and who will need many months to get into step with the organization. The sudden death or retirement of an old experienced man too often means the temporary disruption of some important department, because there is nobody to fill his place. All these difficulties can be avoided by engaging every year a few young men, with a view to training them carefully and molding them into exactly the type of employees needed.

The employer who has never investigated the matter will be surprised at the results young men will secure. I believe that many

concerns could make astonishing increases in their sales by discharging some of the older salesmen who are trudging along in a hopeless rut, and hiring in their places a few young men. Many a firm has proved to its own satisfaction that four hustling young men at \$600 a year each will show more and better results than one old experienced salesman at \$2,400. And in a few years they will grow into four big money earners.

Besides, the infusion of a little young blood into the establishment has a good effect on the entire force. The new ideas and energy which it brings stimulate the older men and make them realize that they are not indispensable, but must keep well up with the procession if they want to hold their jobs.

I venture to say that the largest and most successful business houses are as a rule those which have during the past ten years steadily pushed young men to the front.

An employêr said to me the other day, "I have no use for young men. What I want is men with years of experience." A few days later I happened to call at his office. It was full of men who were in their prime ten or twelve years ago and their methods of doing business were just about that much behind the times. His business was steadily going from bad to worse, for it was incapable of meeting the competition of firms which welcome young men and new methods.

After he has learned the value of young men, the employer still has to decide what particular type of young man makes the best employee. For instance, is the city bred man who lives with his parents to be preferred to the man from away up in the country who comes to the city to live in a hall bedroom and make his fortune?

Where knowledge of the city is not essential at the outset, I believe as a rule the country bred man makes the better employee. He may be a trifle slower and more awkward than his city brother at first, but he has the advantage of good habits, of not being afraid of long hours and of being willing to start at a very low salary. The city man is rarely entirely dependent upon his own resources and therefore lacks a strong incentive to faithful effort, while the man from the country knows that he must make good or walk back to the farm.

"Men from the country go at their work with an 'I will' spirit

that is simply irresistible," said a well known manufacturer to me the other day. "For example, I brought a young fellow down from my old home in New England a year or so ago, and for want of anything better to put him at, turned him loose in the shipping department and told him to see if he could make himself useful there for two or three weeks. Later when I went to transfer him to the factory the head of the shipping department would not listen to it. He said the young fellow had been putting in fourteen or fifteen hours a day and had learned nearly as much about the work as he himself knew, and was his most valuable man. We had tried a dozen city bred men in the same department before and not one of them had made good."

What is the value of college training as a preparation for business? It is a mistaken idea to suppose for a moment that colleges or universities or technical schools can create ability. If they could do that our institutions would be unable to accommodate the army of students which would pour in on them. College training can, however, develop a man's ability and can, therefore, increase his ultimate value in business.

As old Gorgon Graham says in his inimitable letters, "anything that trains boys to think and think quick pays." This is exactly what a college education does. It teaches a man very few things that he can make use of in business, but it teaches him how to acquire knowledge of new things and to acquire it quickly. It does not give him brains; it teaches him how to use what brains he has. For the first two or three months the average college man in business is worth no more than a sixteen-year old boy who has begun work on leaving the grammar or high school. At the end of that period, however, he begins to increase rapidly in value and before two years are past he will be earning more money than the man without the college training, who had four or five years' start of him in business.

The only way to satisfy yourself as to the usefulness or worthlessness of college men is to watch the results obtained by other employers who employ them, or better still to hire a few yourself. A notable instance of the value of college men is furnished by the Western Electric Company, which began employing college men about ten years ago and has found that 90 per cent of them make good, as compared with 10 per cent of the men who enter business

on leaving the high or grammar school. A large percentage of the executive officers and heads of departments of this great company are college men who have worked their way up from the ranks. Another concern which is finding college men a very profitable investment is Sears, Roebuck & Company, the well known mail order house. This year it is engaging about fifty young graduates. They start them at moderate salaries with a view to teaching them the business and training them for responsible positions.

If an employer wants a man to address envelopes or keep books all his life he would better not hire a college man. The college man becomes discontented in such a position. He is perfectly willing to start at the very bottom of the ladder, but his training has given him the ability to do better things and the ambition to climb higher. If the employer wants men whom he can start addressing envelopes or keeping books with a view to some day putting them at more responsible work, he can use the college graduate to advantage.

It is a frequent occurrence for well known men to tell me: "I have tried a college graduate and found him absolutely no good; I wouldn't have another college man in my establishment."

I invariably ask: "Where did you get your college man?" and I find that they hired the son of some particular friend or relative—a man whose college education simply increased the lack of brains and energy with which he entered college.

The value of any force of men lies in its selection. The college man should be chosen as carefully as any other employee. It is a mistake to suppose for a moment that a college education makes him a man. In choosing college men, the same care must be exercised in order to get men with energy and determination. Those men who have worked their way through college deserve special confidence.

The up-to-date employer will appreciate the value of his employees and will make a careful study of the relative worth of the different classes of men whom he engages. Of course no set rule can be made, for varying conditions will set different standards. The experience of many employers, however, shows that it is well for every establishment to have growing up with it a large force of energetic, capable young men, and that other things being equal,

country-bred boys and college men offer the most promising material.

Men succeed according to their capacity for hard work and their honesty, and according to this, college men are more apt to possess these qualities than others. Statistics based on data gathered from the experience of a hundred business houses and covering a period of three or four years show that about 90 per cent of the college men are successful in rising to large salaried and responsible positions as compared with 25 per cent of the non-college men. According to these figures \$800 a year is the limit of the non-college man who has at least four years and in some cases a longer start of the college man. Only 10 per cent of the college men are absolute failures and 75 per cent of them rise above \$1200 a year.

There is no doubt that college graduates are the chief and best source of supply for the reserve force which every progressive firm should be accumulating. The advantages of those with only high school training should not, however, be overlooked. Many of the large city high schools, in fact, give courses that are almost equal to those of the small colleges.

In some branches of business, high school men are perhaps preferable to college men, especially in routine clerical work as the man fresh from high school is usually a better penman and quicker at figures. The college man is, however, almost always superior in judgment, knowledge of human nature and other qualities which come with age and the employer who wants a young man to grow up with his business and develop the right ability for a responsible position is taking great chances in hiring one who has had less than a high school education.

Men who have worked their way through college are most likely to prove valuable provided they are placed in congenial work. The very fact that they made their own way is fairly good proof of grit and capacity for hard work and in earning their expenses, they have brushed up against business more or less and gained experience which is bound to prove valuable even if only to show what work they are best fitted for. One or two of the largest employers of college men show a marked preference for those who had to make their way, and the man whose expenses have been paid by some one else has to look very good indeed in order to secure even a hearing.

A point upon which employers differ is as to whether men from the country are better than men from the city. The feeling that country bred men are likely to work harder is widespread, and although it has much evidence in its support there is hardly enough to justify turning down applicants simply because they happen to be city born and bred. And for some lines of work — selling, for example,— the city man is often the better.

There is also difference of opinion as to the relative advantages of men from the large and small colleges. This, however, is by no means an essential point, for both turn out good men. One Western employer says: "Of the two most capable young men I have recently hired, one is from a small freshwater college, and the other a graduate of the University of Chicago."

"It is personality on which I base my judgment," says a well-known employer who has hired enough college men during the past few years to be an authority on the subject. "I do not care what school he comes from or what course he has taken so long as he is a clean cut fellow whose looks indicate brains, energy and capacity for work. Other things being equal, I give preference to a man from the country as being more likely to be a man of steady habits and to the man who has had to make his own way as being more likely to be a worker. It matters little what standing a man has had during his course so long as whatever he has done has been done honestly."

It is well to consider a man's physical strength as well as his mental ability and character. A Pittsburgh employer, who during the past three years has hired and trained up in a large department nearly one hundred college and technical school men, says that a large percentage of the failures among them have been due to lack of physical force. "This has not taught me to seek for the athletes and the men who hold the strength test records, but it has taught me to turn down an otherwise good man, unless he looks in first class health and able to stand a pace which is bound to be rapid in this business."

Many employers who are impressed with the advantages of college men are doubtful as to where they can be used to the best advantage. One remarked the other day, "I would like to try out half a dozen young graduates, but I don't know what department to start them in." The answer to this is that they can be used to

advantage in any department where there is opportunity for a young man to learn and to advance as he makes himself valuable.

In sales work college men have been found particularly valuable. The life insurance companies were doubtless the pioneers in using them in outside work, but now publishing companies, bond houses, office appliance firms, and mercantile and manufacturing houses of all kinds are employing hundreds of them every year to strengthen their sales forces. A New York publishing house put a young New England college man into new territory in July, 1905. He made good — emphatically so. During his first six months he sold more goods than any new man had ever done in a similar period. The sales manager of the company expressed surprise that he had done so well. The young man replied, "If I could earn my way through college by selling subscription books, I ought to be able to make good with you."

It being impossible to judge accurately of a man's fitness for selling work until he has been given more or less of a trial, many firms have found it a good plan to conduct training schools for young college men. They take the men about July 1st and for six, eight or ten weeks familiarize them thoroughly with the line of goods and the best methods of selling them. During this educational period the men are paid a bare living salary with the guarantee that if they master the details of the business and show signs of selling ability, they will be given positions as salesmen on an attractive salary and commission basis. In this way, during the past few years, two or three notably successful sales forces have been organized.

In straight clerical work the young college man is often at a disadvantage, owing to his poor penmanship and his ignorance of bookkeeping, but the quickness with which he picks up general office details is often surprising. There is in western Pennsylvania to-day a chief clerk in a large office who five years ago a green hand, just out of college, started with this firm at \$10 a week. The first few weeks he was worth little or nothing and several times was on the point of being dismissed. Then he began to increase rapidly in value and to-day he is one of the ablest men in the employ of this large corporation.

The value of college training very often comes out in peculiar ways. A young man began work a few years ago for a large in-

insurance and real estate company. He was not of prepossessing appearance and on this account and because his references (all of them from college professors) laid such emphasis on the fact that he had specialized in foreign languages and attained high rank in these courses, the general manager of the company came near refusing his application for employment. "French, Spanish and German are of no use in this business," grumbled the manager, but nevertheless he put the young man to work, for he needed a man badly. To-day he is glad he did so.

The young man started as a filing clerk, getting out and putting away documents and papers used by the different officers of the company. It was not long before they discovered that when they asked for certain information about a piece of real estate the young man could furnish it with surprising promptness. Often they noticed, he would tell its value, size, location, etc., without referring to the files. Finally the reliability and remarkable scope of his memory attracted the attention of the president of the company and he was promoted, until he is now at the head of an important department. His French, Spanish and German were of no use in the insurance business, but the training he gained in mastering these languages — the development which it gave his memory, — is worth a good many thousand dollars a year to his employers.

Unless a man is wanted for technical work, it matters little what course he has taken so long as he knows how to work. It is not the knowledge gained in college that makes the young graduate successful, but rather the training he gained in securing that knowledge. From the employers' standpoint, it has been my experience that graduates from institutions like the Wharton School, the Tuck School and others have very little, if any, advantage over those who have taken only the ordinary academic course. Looked at from the standpoint of the man himself, it is doubtful if the course given by these schools gave him enough better equipment to warrant spending an additional year. Courses in business law, corporation accounting and transportation, if he can take them during his regular course, cannot help being of great assistance. The college graduate who has brushed up against actual business during his course by managing one of the college papers or athletic teams or by earning his expenses in some business venture is usually a great

deal more valuable than the man who has done none of these things but has taken courses in administration and finance.

Commercial clubs, such as exist at the University of Wisconsin and a number of other institutions are very helpful and should be found in every college and university. These clubs have as members all seniors who are planning to enter business. Meetings are held every two weeks during the year and at them addresses on various practical topics are given by well-known business men. A list of subjects by one of these clubs included "advertising," "the value of card systems," "hiring men," "working up export trade," etc. It seems to me that much more practical benefit can be derived through a general survey of subjects like this than from mastering the intricacies of a course in railroad accounting.

The best training for commercial careers seems to be that gained from a general A. B. or B. S. course, with special attention given during the last year to banking, transportation, money and credit, business law, corporation accounting, etc. It is a serious question whether any young man who plans to enter business can afford to extend the time spent in preparation beyond the usual four year course. If, however, a man is not too old and so situated that he can, for a few months, put off beginning to earn a living, I think the courses offered by the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, the Tuck School at Dartmouth and other similar institutions are extremely valuable. These institutions have hardly been in existence long enough to prove definitely their value in helping prepare a man for business, but judging from the success of several young men who have been graduated from them and whose careers I have had an opportunity to watch they are of great benefit. It happens that nearly all of the men I have in mind have supplemented their courses in the theory of business with more or less general knowledge of actual practice which they have picked up during vacation or before entering college and I believe that the value of such experience cannot be overlooked.

If handled rightly, no class of men are more easily inspired with enthusiasm and loyalty than young college graduates. They like to know all that they can about the business and to feel that they are part of it, even if they are drawing only small salaries. The encouragement, which they need and should have, does not necessarily take the form of frequent increases in salary. There are one hun-

dred and one ways in which their spirits may be kept at the right pitch without continually increasing the salary expense, but when they do merit a raise they should get it without delay unless you want to run the risk of losing good men whose training has cost you a lot of money just as they are becoming worth something.

THE LIFE INSURANCE PROFESSION

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Among the business professions, there is none, according to my observation, which requires more specializing and more varied talents than the profession of life insurance. Some departments of the life insurance business do not require more than an academic education. It is true that a great many persons in the past have engaged in some departments of the business who have not had even an academic education, but these for the most part have not done credit either to themselves or to the profession. A college education is helpful in every department of the life insurance business, and an actual necessity in some or most of the departments.

Before taking up in detail the preparation which students should make for the several departments of the life insurance business it is well to consider briefly:

The Origin of Life Insurance; Its Growth and Magnitude

Life insurance had its origin in the wants of the family. The spirit of true manhood and womanhood craves for means to protect dependents and render them comfortable. When wants arise within the family which it cannot satisfy, then artificial alliances immediately spring forth to provide for them. When the breadwinner of the family ceases to live, the family's want of support is the more acute in proportion to the youth or helplessness of the remaining members. It is this want that a prudent, loving husband aims to satisfy by alliance with his fellows through the medium of life insurance, which is a creature of civilization and is a most potent factor in ameliorating the condition of the human family. Its beneficence and benefits are practically unknown in uncivilized countries.

According to Gratz's "History of the Jews," organizations for mutual relief and protection to the members thereof in the event of

sickness and death were in existence from 160 B. C. The efforts, however, "To help the few by the co-operation of the many" among the nations of the classic period of history were extremely crude. Life insurance in Great Britain approximating the modern form made very little progress until the year 1760, and in the United States not until a century later or 1860. The first life insurance report published by the State of New York in the year 1859 showed ten companies having \$114,693,204 insurance in force. As indicating the progress and growth of the life insurance business, it is only necessary to refer to the fact that forty-five years later the report for the State of New York gives the business of forty-two companies representing \$10,028,090,981 insurance. The magnitude of the life insurance business can be best appreciated by comparing with bank depositors and banking and railroad capital of the United States the number insured and the accumulated assets. Moreover life insurance has an economic value far beyond its intrinsic value. Millions of persons have had their first lesson in making provision for the future through an obligation to pay a life insurance premium at a stated time. That this is true is evidenced by the fact that while the savings banks in the United States have 7,305,403 depositors, there are about 13,000,000 persons carrying life insurance. By reason of the increasing magnitude of the business, the students of this and future generations have greater responsibilities than did their predecessors.

In order to facilitate study of what is requisite for the profession of life insurance I shall discuss separately the important departments of a life insurance company, taking up each in its alphabetical order. I shall, however, merely give an outline of the principal points so as to open the mind and understanding of the student to what is implied and not expressed.

Foundation Knowledge

SECTION I. It matters not which department of the life insurance business one proposes to engage in, nothing less, as already stated, than an academic education will answer. Those departments requiring a collegiate education as a foundation, and those which should be studied only in a post-graduate course, will be indicated. While a student should not be aimless, but have a purpose in life, he should always remember that the development of a single talent

does not produce the broad-gauge all-around man who usually makes a success in any of the activities of life. Persons to whom has been committed, both in factories and in business, the training of young men, avoid, when possible, the student specialist for the reason that such a student lacks a broad, substantial foundation upon which to build. The student who proceeds on the assumption that nothing in his elementary education should be omitted, that the time for specializing does not come until near the closing of his school and college days, and who has the keen insight and foresight to make note of the character and kind of work for which he has shown the best adaptability, will find it comparatively easy to select the profession to which he, by temperament and instinct, is best adapted.

Accounting and Investment Departments

SECTION 2. In the Accounting and Investment Departments, as well as in the general clerical work, an academic education is all that is absolutely necessary, although those who possess a higher education, with consequently better disciplined minds, are always at an advantage. Life insurance accounting can hardly be said to be book-keeping; very few books are kept. The accounting is accomplished mostly through the card system. It is necessary, therefore, that the accountant should have a keen sense of order and system, and his power of analysis and reasoning must be developed; without such power he should seek other employment.

The academic or college courses calculated to develop order and system and the faculty of reasoning are, therefore, the foundation to be laid for the accounting department.

The Investment Department is more or less associated with the Accounting Department. In computing life insurance premiums, two essential elements are taken into account, i. e. mortality and interest. The computation belongs to the Actuarial Department, but the realization of the interest computed is the function of the Investment Department, under the guidance and control of the Trustees or Board of Directors. Investments must be made with great prudence, so as not only to avoid loss but to produce a return at least equal to the rate of interest assumed in the computation of premiums. The character of contracts made by the company must in a manner govern the investments. If the policies for the most part contain demand cash surrender values, then the investments

must also for the most part consist of what are known as quick assets, such as marketable or listed bonds. A full and correct knowledge of the monetary conditions of the country, of the currency, etc., is essential; also a knowledge of the law governing investments in the several States. There is required a ripened judgment which cannot be acquired without a preliminary training as to the character of bonds and securities that should be purchased, or mortgage loans that should be made. Farm mortgages, for example, have proven to be high grade securities in the case of certain companies where the loans were intelligently and properly made; in case of other companies the returns have not been so satisfactory. An experienced investor will seek the communities where there is more than average thrift and where people have accumulated enough to live upon during two or more successive years of light yield of crops, depression in trade, or other adverse conditions.

While land in the immediate neighborhood of large towns or cities is almost certain to increase in value, it is exceedingly important to take into account to what extent it will be injured by smoke from public works, or proximity of offensive kinds of manufacture, or by pollution of streams; and a further point is the determination of the extent to which the land is capable of diversified production. The physical conditions essential for good farm lands, such as average healthfulness of climate, sufficiency of rainfall to grow crops, natural fertility of soil, etc., are of the first importance. In making town or city loans there are many vital points to be considered. Aside from first class stores and office property, probably the safest, from the lender's point of view, consists of substantial freehold buildings conveniently located to car lines, and commanding a rental value which the man of average income can afford to pay. Buildings on business thoroughfares occupied as combination stores and dwellings are also safe securities. In appraising all such properties, the public improvements, schools, churches, and other attractions, always should be taken into account.

Bonds and debentures as investments require most careful consideration. As a matter of illustration, in passing on railroad securities the following questions naturally occur:—

What are the ratios of gross and net earnings respectively to the bonded debt?

What proportion does the debt bear to the capital stock?

Is the capital stock paying a dividend?

How long has such dividend been paid?

What is the market price?

What is the proportion of the net revenue to the interest charge?

It is, therefore, not only essential that the people in charge of the Investment Department should have a good knowledge of elementary mathematics, interest, ratios, percentage, and the theory of finance in general, but should be students of economic and sociologic conditions and their relation to finance. These, however important, fall short if they be not backed by a discriminating judgment.

Actuarial Department.

SECTION 3. The Actuarial is, beyond question, the most difficult and complex department of the life insurance profession. It is only during comparatively recent years that the people have come to realize the value of actuarial science and to appreciate that it is founded upon natural laws, in many respects akin to the laws of astronomy, the accuracy of which has been repeatedly confirmed. The eclipses of the sun and moon have been computed and foretold a long time in advance of their occurrence, so that the astronomer is admittedly a scientist. The actuary who deals, in his computation, with the natural laws of growth, maturity and decay, as applied to human life, cannot prognosticate as to the individual, but can, with mathematical accuracy predict the contingencies which will occur in a given time to a given number.

A student, to qualify himself for the profession of an actuary, should make himself proficient in Higher Algebra, covering such subjects as the Binomial Theorem, Permutations and Combinations, Summation of Series, Theory of Logarithms and Probabilities, Plane and Solid Geometry, Analytical Geometry, Theory of Equations, Differential and Integral Calculus, the Calculus of Finite Differences, Theory of Interest and Annuities-Certain, etc. These will lay the foundation upon which to build in a post-graduate course, or as a student in the office of the Actuarial Department of a life insurance company. There is danger of a student, in pursuing actuarial studies, getting his ideas somewhat distorted. After acquiring the foundation knowledge which is absolutely essential and receiving his degree, he is liable to conclude that the insurance fraternity is waiting to receive him with open arms, and that he will be promptly installed

as actuary of a well-established life insurance company. The student should realize that he is entering upon a progressive profession, and that having obtained the necessary foundation knowledge, some years must be spent in learning to apply such knowledge to the practical affairs of life. The duties of the profession are distinctly analytical. He finds that the natural laws which affect human life are susceptible of mathematical calculation, but also finds that social, economic and financial conditions affect the same, and hence must be studied, analyzed, and the money value of the various probabilities and contingencies determined. To this end the education and training in the college and university courses will be of the greatest value, but the student must not assume that such courses, when completed, constitute him an actuary. Furthermore, because mathematics are involved to a great extent, he must not assume that a broad, liberal education is unnecessary. He who is incapable of clearly, correctly and concisely expressing thought is always at a disadvantage. The student who, as a part of his education, will arrange to spend his vacation periods in the Actuarial Department of a well-established life insurance company, will get a much clearer and better conception, provided he be properly directed and tutored, of what is expected of the actuarial profession, than in any other way. After a student has spent a brief period in a life office and determines upon choosing the actuarial profession, he should make arrangements with the Actuarial Society of America to take the examinations for Associate Membership, as he is then better qualified to pass them than he will be at any time in the future. The subsequent examinations, however, should not be taken until he has had some office experience, and until he has mastered the text books of the British Institute, and become familiar with the Proceedings of that Institute, and the Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America.

Agency Department

SECTION 4. The Agency Department is one of the most important of the life insurance profession. In the early history of life insurance the agent was not professionally an underwriter but merely a solicitor. It was quite common for an agent to say that the rates were made and the conditions imposed by the company, and it was no part of his business to know the details, but merely to sell

the contract as it stood. That time, fortunately, is rapidly passing away. The man who is not a qualified underwriter is working under difficulties. The qualified underwriter is not only a student of human nature but of sociologic, economic and financial conditions. He is able to select the contract best suited to the needs of the individual and is capable of explaining it in every detail. True life insurance is designed to secure to dependents, or for the protection of business, the present worth of the productive value of a life in the event of death. Life insurance thus becomes an unselfish act, and is, therefore, a creature of civilization. The barbarian from natural instincts will not do unselfish things. Civilization, education, and social conditions combine, when properly presented by the underwriter, to impress people with the importance of maintaining an institution for dividing the losses of the few among the many. In other words, life insurance is a distributor of wealth and is constantly creating new social conditions. The agency system is a huge organization for the betterment of mankind. It includes in the United States in excess of 63,000 chosen men, who are daily engaged in appealing to their fellows to husband their resources to protect dependents, to lay up something for the future, to provide for the burdens of old age, etc. The general effect of these efforts, aside from the actual money involved, is worth to the people at large and to the nation the expense of the entire agency system.

The academic degrees are quite sufficient to qualify the ordinary life underwriter, but the organization work involved requires a varied talent and thorough training, to which the college and university courses, as conducted at the Universities of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, at Yale, and elsewhere will be found to be most helpful.

Law Department

SECTION 5. The necessities of life insurance require an efficient Legal Department in every well-regulated company. Aside, however, from this department proper, it is necessary that the persons in charge of the Investment, Agency, Actuarial and Medical Departments, should have some fundamental legal training. The student who aspires to become connected with the Law Department should secure a liberal education, in which should be included and emphasized the elementary mathematics relating to the profession and re-

ferred to in Section 3. The attorney who has no conception of ratios, percentages, etc., is always at a disadvantage in making a specialty of insurance law. He should, in fact, have the same foundation training as the actuary, but need not specialize in mathematics.

As relations between the insured and insurer, agent and principal, are almost entirely contractual, it is of the utmost importance that the law of contracts be thoroughly and entirely understood. The law of agency must be mastered, and in certain branches of insurance the law of negligence is of prime importance. An attorney, to be fully equipped for general insurance practice, should have a thorough understanding of equity jurisprudence, because in the varied relations and situations arising out of the multitude of insurance contracts, resort is often necessary to the equity side of the court to determine the rights of the parties. It is necessary that an insurance law specialist should have a general knowledge of all the branches of law so as to properly represent the Investment Department. To do this means a thorough knowledge of real property law. He must also master constitutional law if he would qualify himself to care for the interests of the company in the various States where legislatures enact laws affecting the rights of corporations. The law of insurance which also comprehends medical jurisprudence is becoming recognized as a very important department of the legal profession.

Medical Department

SECTION 6. The student of medicine, for even general practice, should be a college graduate, but if he has less than an academic education he is totally unfit for the important position of medical examiner. The life insurance companies in 1905 expended about \$10,000,000 to compensate medical examiners for the service rendered. Every qualified physician is naturally eager to secure the patronage of the companies. The companies, in return for the money expended, expect both faithful and efficient service. This cannot be rendered without proper preliminary training. The qualified medical examiner should have a clear conception of the contractual relationship existing between the applicant and the company and should thoroughly understand his part of the responsibility. The carelessness and inefficiency of medical examiners have resulted in much perplexity, litigation and disappointment. The first and most im-

portant conception is that of the legal and ethical relationship between the examiner and the company. He is employed by the company and as a matter of good conscience should serve it first. He is liable to be influenced by considerations favorable to both the agent, who would lose his commission, and the applicant who would be deprived of insurance, in case of adverse action on his part. The medical student should be taught to look beyond the individual next to him toward the general welfare, which he will best serve by keeping faith with his company.

On a foundation of theoretical medical training, the medical examiner should have built up a superstructure of practical experience with actual cases of both health and disease in its various manifestations, so that he can transfer, for the medical directors' consideration, a word picture of the applicant as he actually is. The curriculum of the medical schools, for the development of efficient medical examiners, should give special emphasis to diagnosis throughout all the major courses, such as surgery and medicine, and the other and more special branches, such as diseases of the eye, upper air passages, ear, the study of the skin, the study of the nervous system, etc.

In order to acquire the practical experience in discriminating diagnosis, the clinics and the out-patient departments of every accessible hospital should be haunted by the student. Special stress should be given to the practical work upon medical and surgical diagnosis. Pathological findings should be studied with the clinical history and symptoms.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the ability to make an absolutely true diagnosis. The medical directors' prognosis must, of necessity, be based upon the medical examiner's diagnosis of health. It will not do for the examiner to record symptoms and report them, but with the applicant before him, and brought there for investigation, it is his duty and business to make a positive diagnosis. For example, suppose the applicant should have a swollen, tender, painful knee,—to report that to the medical director would be of no help to him. He would want to know at once whether it was "traumatic synovitis" or what. Again, if the medical examiner should report a cough lasting for some time, that would be no information; the question with which the medical

director must deal is, What caused the cough? Is it due to an "elongated uvula," or what?

It is a fact, which the record of every insurance office clearly shows, that the medical examiners, as a class, do not have a proper and keen appreciation of what is expected of them and of that for which they are paid. Comparatively few are properly equipped for making intelligent urinalysis, and still fewer for microscopic investigation. The medical student, to be qualified for making life insurance examinations, should know something of the history of life insurance, the meaning of mortality tables, and the conclusions to be drawn from them; of the selection of risks and the elements entering therein; the various forms of policies, and the effect they have upon both applicant and company; and should be thoroughly drilled in the proper relation to agent, applicant and company. The student should have some foundation legal knowledge of contracts and also of medical jurisprudence. The ability to pathologically cross-examine an applicant so as to develop what he knows about himself,—and that is generally all that is worth knowing,—is of the first importance. It should be remembered that admission on the part of the applicant of impaired personal or family history may defeat the insurance for which he is applying, and it is reasonable, therefore, that he may not volunteer information and may even attempt to conceal it; hence, the importance of the examiner having a proper conception of the best way of developing the truth without seemingly discrediting or antagonizing the applicant. This, as a rule, can be best accomplished by starting with a complete history of medical attendance, duration of attendance in each case, the name of the physician, and the diagnosis given by him. It should be remembered that what the applicant states and admits and subscribes to he is responsible for, but he is not responsible for the opinion of the medical examiner, which is valueless to the company unless it be based upon facts. The medical student's curriculum should include a work entitled "Stratagems and Conspiracies to Defraud Life Insurance Companies."

Statistical Department

SECTION 7. While there is a connection between the Statistical and Actuarial Departments, there is undoubtedly a distinct

field for the insurance statist. He is not expected merely to tabulate and compile, but is expected to interpret as well. His interpretations, based upon statistics, should be used by the Actuarial and Executive Departments, and also the Board of Directors, in determining upon lines of action. Unless the student has an actuarial aptitude, and is specially endowed for the work of a statist, he will consider it drudgery, and will be out of his element. He must possess a natural ability for both analysis and synthesis. In the matter of training, the ordinary college course, with sociology and statistics as majors and with economics and mathematics among the minors is a prerequisite.

A knowledge of mathematics as far as the Calculus, Integral and Differential, while not absolutely necessary, is helpful. Statistical problems are frequently solved by resort to Calculus.

The value of economics to the student of statistics lies more in the mental training than in the statistical practices. The chief value of course in economics, will come from the refinement of reasoning and keenness of analysis which the student will be called upon to give to the work in its theoretical aspects. The science of statistics, and sociology are closely related; in fact they are interdependent. The study of sociology affords an unlimited field for the application of statistical methods. Beginning with the population as a whole, the student traces and measures its distribution geographically, topographically, etc. The study of its movements involves the measurement of immigration, of interstate migration, and of the movement to cities within the state. The study of its composition involves its analysis into component parts and opens up the subjects of sex, race, nationality, age, etc., all of which are exceedingly important from the life insurance point of view. The measurement of its growth opens up the whole field of vital statistics, marriages, births, sickness, deaths; these subjects, and especially the last, mortality, should be studied in every possible relation. The study of cause of death will lead the student to take short excursions into medical science and give him a grounding in nosology. In studying the deaths themselves the differing mortality of the various population elements,—sex, race, etc.,—should be measured, and the effect of occupation, of climate, of agglomeration, etc., traced.

The student, pursuing a four years' course, will be confronted,

up to the day of graduation, with problems for observation, research, and statistical treatment, the solving of which will aid in qualifying him to take up insurance statistics. A student who has had the foundation of a collegiate training in sociology and in the science of statistics may then, with some degree of confidence of success, enter upon the field of insurance statistics which will require him to appraise, compare, analyze, deduce, or, in a way, interpret.

It is hoped that the glimpses given of the required qualifications will stimulate students to improve their opportunities. The call is insistent to-day for qualified men. It seems certain, moreover, that the future will see a degree of development in life insurance that will make the present seem circumscribed in comparison. No one of proper mind, who thoroughly prepares himself, need fear lack of opportunity in this field of science and action.

THE STUDY OF INSURANCE IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

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The study of insurance in our higher institutions of learning must be viewed as marking a step in that new educational movement, which aims to provide for the training of future business men and which has led to the introduction in practically all American universities of numerous courses in highly specialized branches of business, industry and trade, which, until recently, were regarded as outside the range of college studies. In fact, so rapid has been the introduction of courses in insurance in American universities that one is prompted to ask the reason why. The answer is not far to seek. On the one hand, few fields of industry have enjoyed such marvelous growth during the last twenty-five years as the insurance business. Indeed, insurance may be justly said to have become one of the foremost enterprises of the age, more persons being directly interested financially in this institution today than in any other. According to recent estimates, exclusive of the vast business written by fraternal beneficiary associations and local mutual fire companies, the amount of insurance in force in the United States reaches the enormous total of \$50,000,000,000, held by approximately 20,000,000 citizens, who pay annually \$1,000,000,000 in premiums and receive annually in return about \$800,000,000.¹ From small proportions a quarter of a century ago American companies have grown until they now possess the gigantic sum of about \$3,000,000,000 in assets, and furnish permanent employment, it is estimated, to about 200,000 persons.

But the remarkable increase in the magnitude of the business is not alone responsible for making the subject of insurance a part of the curriculum of the most influential American universities. It

¹ Majority report of the Committee on Insurance Law, presented at the meeting of the American Bar Association, August 24, 1905.

remains to be noted that among the various types of business, probably none requires greater specialization and a more varied training than insurance. Few fields of industry make greater demands upon the individual for system, power of initiative, and ability to cope with new and untried problems,—all of which qualities can be greatly strengthened by taking a course of study calculated to develop the same.

Turning to the various departments of an insurance company it appears that each requires special training. The actuarial department makes necessary the highest mathematical training. The statistical department requires that the data be correctly tabulated, and above all, that it be correctly interpreted. The investment department makes essential a knowledge of the relative merits of securities as regards their safety and earning power, a knowledge of the money and security market, as well as a thorough understanding of elementary mathematics, economics and finance. Those employed as underwriters will, more and more, be obliged to explain in detail the meaning of the numerous types of policies they sell, and be able, moreover, to offer that contract among the many types that are sold, which is best suited to their customer's needs.

Illustrations like these might be indefinitely enlarged upon to show that the insurance business requires great specialization and varied equipment, and that the prospective candidate for the business would do well to first get the advantages in training which a university offers. This fact has been fully recognized by the ablest managers of many insurance companies. In fact many of the large insurance companies have found it desirable to educate their employees through lectures, manuals of instruction and the like. As Mr. L. G. Fouse, President of the Fidelity Mutual Life Insurance Company, so aptly stated in a lecture before the University of Pennsylvania last year: "The underwriter in life insurance is supposed to have become an expert in the business of life insurance to a degree that enables him to select the contract best suited to the needs of a prospective applicant, and to act, therefore, in an advisory capacity and assume responsibility to that extent. In my opinion, in a comparatively short time life underwriting will be distinctly recognized as a profession; and through either the universities or various life underwriter associations, degrees of competency should be conferred. The interests of the profession should be as

jealously guarded and promoted by its members as are the interests of the legal, medical, or any other of the professions. . . . In our own country courses of insurance, as is well known, have been established in the University of Pennsylvania, at Yale, Michigan, Wisconsin, and in a number of colleges. Some of the life companies have made a specialty of summer schools of instruction in life insurance, which the graduates of our universities and colleges have been invited to attend. In recent years, the agency system has been strongly reinforced by graduates of our institutions of learning. Many of these have taken a conspicuous and prominent part in the field work and have been very successful. In fact, the progress of the business, its professional character, the sharp competition which prevails, the various intricacies that must be mastered, have made the field infinitely more inviting to the men with a trained and disciplined intellect than to the man of limited education.”² Again we find Senator John F. Dryden, President of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, asserting that “There is an increasing demand in insurance, not only for men of energy and ability, possessing integrity, tact and perseverance, but also for specialists, to bring to higher perfection the numerous minor departments for the investigation of facts and forces beneath the surface of everyday business experience. The demand for young men of exceptional ability is out of all proportion to the available supply, and there is abundant opportunity for the profitable employment of large numbers of college-bred men, or men of higher education, who are practically certain, other things being equal, to make a greater success in the field of insurance than in any other branch of commercial enterprise.”

But the study of insurance in our universities should by no means be confined to those who intend to pursue that profession. On the contrary it should be included in the curriculum of every school of commerce and finance as constituting a part of the general business education of those who intend to enter the banking, transportation, manufacturing or mercantile business, and who will thus become buyers of insurance, or be obliged to deal with it as creditor or otherwise. It requires little proof to show that insurance in its various forms (life, fire, marine, accident, em-

² “Insurance.” Volume of papers on Insurance, p. 66 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, September, 1905.

ployer's liability, fidelity, title, credit, etc.) fundamentally underlies all business, and is inseparably interwoven with our whole commercial life. Without fire insurance credit would practically be impossible and commercial transactions would have to be limited to the extent of the individual's capital. With the use of fire insurance as collateral, however, the merchant, broker or property owner may secure credit at cash prices, from the wholesale dealer or banker to four or five times the extent of his capital. It is interesting to note in this connection that over 95 per cent. of the world's business, it is estimated, is thus done on credit. Cargoes shipped from America to Europe, for example, may be balanced by European cargoes shipped to the Orient, and these in turn balanced by Oriental cargoes shipped to America,—a series of transactions based on credit and made possible only by a guarantee of indemnity in the form of a fire and marine policy. Marine insurance in fact has become an essential part of practically every maritime transaction, and has been ranked in importance with any other active force in controlling the employment of shipping, and in being almost as essential to our foreign, coastwise and inland commerce and just as much an instrumentality of trade as the vessel itself.

Similarly with reference to fire insurance, as Mr. A. C. Campbell writes: "There is practically no combustible property that is not insured against fire; every car of grain, every scow-load of lumber, every bale of cotton, every package of manufactured goods, from the time it assumes merchantable shape until it is entirely consumed, is thus conditionally the property of insurers. Without such a system, modern commerce would be impossible. The fire insurance policy, or the assignment of certain interest in it, is attached to the mortgage, given by the farmer for money to build his new barn; the fire insurance policy is as necessary to the banker as is the warehouse or shipping receipt on the strength of which he advances funds for that magic of commerce, 'moving the crop'; fire insurance is as important to the manufacturer as is the foundation under his factory; fire insurance is, in fact, the very backbone of that part of our social life which has to do with making, moving and keeping material things."³ Moreover, even as regards life insurance, the vital connection between insurance and business generally must be apparent. Its vast accumulations are collected from millions of

³ A. C. Campbell, in "Insurance and Crime," p. 131.

small savers and again distributed or loaned or used as productive capital. Ranking among the largest investors, insurance companies play a most influential part in the money and security market, and, besides affording protection to millions of families and to business enterprises, life insurance policies are also being used more and more as collateral. Illustrations like these might be indefinitely multiplied to show the intimate connection between the insurance business and other business enterprises, and to make apparent the reason why a study of insurance in our higher institutions of learning should not be confined to those who intend to write insurance, but on the contrary should be made a part of the general business education offered by every important school of commerce and finance.

The foregoing remarks relative to the growth of the insurance business, the qualifications necessary to pursue the profession, and the close connection between this business and other business enterprises will explain and justify the importance which the subject is attaining in our university system of education. Some six or seven years ago insurance courses were practically unknown in our universities; today they exist in nearly all the larger institutions, and each year the names of more universities are added to the list. In our Eastern States the subject of insurance is now taught at the University of Pennsylvania, at Yale and Harvard, and the New York University School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance. In the Northwestern States insurance courses have been established in the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa, as well as in various smaller universities and colleges. Finally, directing our attention to the institutions of learning west of the Mississippi we find that the Universities of Kansas, Colorado, and California have likewise enlarged the scope of their work so as to include courses in this subject. That other universities will, in the near future, follow the example of those just mentioned seems beyond question. Indeed the movement for university education in insurance is assuming larger and larger proportions, not only in America but also abroad. In Germany the Prussian Government, as early as 1895, established a seminary at the University of Goettingen for the express purpose of affording instruction in insurance. Even in Japan in the higher commercial schools, such as the Tokio

Higher Commercial School, courses in life and property insurance are emphasized to an extraordinary degree.

But while the progress thus made in the study of insurance at our universities is, to say the least, gratifying, much still remains to be desired as regards the character of the courses offered. An examination of the announcement of courses in the catalogues of the respective institutions shows that in the great majority of cases too much emphasis is still placed upon the history, theory, and general economic and social utility of insurance, and too little emphasis upon the many real and practical problems connected with the calculation and making of rates, the comparison of various types of policies with a view of ascertaining their relative merits, the legal interpretation of policy contracts, and the practical management and operation of the business.

Nor is much attempt made as yet to organize properly the study of insurance with reference to the particular needs of the student. In most American universities the subject is still presented in one course, and that most frequently of a very general character. And yet it must be clear that it is quite impossible to treat thoroughly the large and complicated subject of insurance in a single course (as that word is understood in college life), and at the same time adapt that course equally to the needs of those students who expect to enter the insurance business, and those who wish to know only the general outlines of insurance for the assistance which such knowledge may render them while engaged in other business pursuits. To present the subject of insurance to the greatest advantage it seems to me essential that three important facts should be constantly kept in mind, viz:

(1) That the needs of the student who is preparing himself for the banking, transportation, manufacturing or mercantile business are different from the requirements demanded by the student who is preparing for the insurance business, and that consequently there should be a general course for the former, and more detailed and technical courses for the latter.

(2) That the leading branches of insurance, such as life and property insurance, have little in common, but present the greatest difference in theory and practice, and should, therefore, be made the basis of separate courses. Moreover, most prospective applicants for the insurance business seek to qualify only for one or the

other, and, as experience has shown at the University of Pennsylvania, have little more than a general interest in acquiring an understanding of other forms of insurance.

(3) That the insurance business, as shown before in this paper, requires great specialization and varied training, and that consequently if a university expects to prepare a man for the business, it is highly desirable that the student's academic course should be so arranged as to bring him in touch with those branches of learning which will prove most serviceable to him after he has entered the business.

In view of these considerations, it may be well at this point to describe briefly the work which is being done at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania along the lines suggested. To meet the needs of those students who desire only a general knowledge of insurance, the University offers a general introductory course, extending throughout the college year, which aims to explain the economic advantages of the principal forms of insurance, and to acquaint the student with the general principles, the various types of policy contracts, and the main problems connected with each. On the other hand, to meet the needs of those students intending to engage in the insurance business, advanced courses are offered which aim to present the subject in much greater detail with reference to the technique and practice of the business. For beginners two such courses are given at present (see outlines of courses below), each extending throughout the college year, the one covering life and other closely allied forms of insurance, and the other devoted to fire and other forms of property insurance. These courses may then be followed by more advanced courses in the organization, practice and law of insurance which will afford opportunity for special investigation in those branches of insurance which members of the class may especially desire to pursue. Recognizing, furthermore, the many separate departments in the insurance business and the necessity for a broad training on the part of the prospective candidate, the work of the course has been so arranged that in his sophomore, junior and senior years the student is enabled and strongly encouraged to take courses in mathematics, economics, public finance, investments, business law, commerce and industry, accounting, chemistry, sociology and other branches which are intimately and inseparably

connected with efficient work in either life or property insurance as the case may be.

Moreover, for the benefit of the many young men in a large city like Philadelphia, who, because of their employment, are unable to avail themselves of an academic education during the daytime, the University of Pennsylvania in its Evening School of Accounts and Finance has introduced courses in both life and property insurance. These courses are similar in scope to those outlined below, and like the courses offered in the Wharton School aim not merely to present a series of lectures, but also to bring the student in touch with the choicest literature on each topic considered, and to encourage individual research and class discussion with a view of developing the reasoning power of the student so as to enable him later to deal successfully with the many problems of a rapidly growing and changing business. In addition to the regular class work arrangements are also made for addresses by prominent insurance men on the principles and practices of their respective lines of work.

The students attending these Evening School courses have thus far consisted almost entirely of insurance brokers, solicitors or office managers and employees. And the views expressed in this paper with reference to the advantages of a broad and thorough education for the insurance man have been amply confirmed by the numerous problems, legal and otherwise, which have arisen in the daily work of the members of the classes, and which have been submitted by them in the classroom for discussion and solution.

OUTLINE OF INSURANCE COURSES
GIVEN AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

LIFE INSURANCE

- I. **History of Life Insurance:** Character of life insurance in the United States prior to 1880.—Marvelous growth of the business after 1880.—Present magnitude of the business.—Discussion of important changes subsequent to 1880, such as changes in policy provisions, decline in interest rate, increase in expense rate, rise of new types of insurance, etc.
- II. **Economic and Social Utility of Insurance:** Nature and theory of life insurance.—Its importance as a means for protecting and continuing the value of the human life.—As a means of encouraging thrift.—As a means of utilizing the savings of millions for productive purposes.—The uses of life insurance to the business man.—The uses of annuities.—Life insurance as an investment.
- III. **Calculation of the Premium for various types of policies:**
 1. Explanation of the various types of policy contracts, and a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each.
 2. Features peculiar to life insurance as distinguished from other forms of insurance, and the necessity to exercise great care in determining the rate of premium.
 3. The principles of probabilities.
 4. Mortality Tables:
 - (a) Early tables and how they were obtained.
 - (b) Mortality tables now in general use, and how obtained.
 - (c) Recent attempts at constructing new mortality tables, and progress made in the collection and tabulation of data.
 5. The interest basis.
 6. The calculation of the net premium for
 - Pure endowments.
 - Annuities.
 - Term and whole life insurance.
 - Limited payment insurance.
 - Endowment insurance.
 - Instalment insurance.
 - Return premium insurance.
 - Joint life insurance.
 - Semi-annual and quarterly premiums.

7. Calculation of the "gross premium" Loading.—Extent of loading.—Reasons for loading the net premiums.—The various methods of loading most commonly used.
8. The Insurance Reserve:
From whence derived.
Its purpose.
Detailed demonstration of its operation.
9. The Surplus:
Its nature and purpose.—Various sources from which derived.—The gain from a saving in mortality explained.—Various methods of ascertaining the surplus.—Lapses with reference to their contribution to or infringement upon the surplus.—Participating and non-participating policies.—Various methods of distributing the surplus.—The annual and deferred dividend systems compared, and the arguments for and against each presented.
10. Surrender Values:
Why subject of surrender values is important.—Lapses and surrenders; their importance and how regarded by the companies.—Non-forfeiture laws and their development.—Present liberality of companies as regards the granting of surrender values.—Legal restrictions as regards.—How calculated.—Classification of policy provisions in various companies with reference to.—Renewal of policies.—Various forms in which surrender values are paid.
11. Policy Loans:
Importance of this privilege.—Early methods of granting loans.—The various forms of the loan privilege to-day.

IV. Policy Provisions in Life Insurance:

1. Motives which govern the framing of contracts.
2. The application, and a summary of its numerous provisions.
3. Classification and consideration of privileges implied or expressed in the policy and of conditions made necessary by considerations of equity, by public policy or by the nature of the contract.
4. Classification and consideration of policy restrictions.
5. Tendency to liberalize the policy.

V. A concise but exhaustive summary of the law of Life Insurance:

1. Insurable Interest:
Definition.—Principal legal rules concerning.—Illustrations of insurable interest from American court decisions.—Instances where no insurable interest has

been held to exist.—Amount of creditor's insurable interest.—Insurable interest in one's own life.

2. The interpretation of the application as regards excepted risks, other insurance, questions pertaining to health, habits, occupation, etc. Warranties and Representations discussed at length.

3. The payment of the premium:

Payment of the premium a condition precedent.—Necessity of prompt payment.—Excuse for non-payment, when permitted.—Notice of time of payment.—Manner of payment.—Law pertaining to assessments in fraternal and assessment societies.—Recovery of the premium.—Waiver and estoppel as regards payment of the premium.

4. The legal interpretation of leading provisions in the policy, such as the suicide clause, the incontestable clause, etc.

5. The law referring to the beneficiary:

Manner of designating the beneficiary.—Court decisions as to the meaning of certain general terms used in designating the beneficiary.—Rights of the beneficiary.—Effect of cessation of insurable interest before time of maturity of the contract.—Attachment against interest of insured or beneficiary.—State legislation protecting the beneficiary in certain cases.—Manner of changing the beneficiary.—Effect of clause permitting insurer to choose the beneficiary.

6. The law of agency:

Classification of state statutory requirements with reference to insurance agents and brokers.—Agents' licenses.—Penalties imposed for misrepresentation, rebating, acting for companies unauthorized to do business in the state, or improper advertising.—To what extent the agent can bind the company, and the cases in which the company cannot be held liable.—Knowledge of the agent the knowledge of the company.—Liability of the company for the acts of its general agents as well as the acts of his clerks and employees.

7. The law pertaining to the discharge of the contract:

Notice of death, and proof of death blanks.—Requisites of notice and proof of death.—Legal view as to the conclusiveness of statements contained in the proof of death blank.—Provisions pertaining to the discharge of the contract construed less strictly against the insured as compared with provisions which seek to protect insurer before death occurs.—Effect of limitations in the policy as to the time of furnishing proofs of death.—

Meaning of "immediate" notice of death.—Waiver of sufficiency of such notice or proof of death.

8. The assignment of policies:

Difference between life and fire insurance in this respect.—Policy restrictions which may be placed upon the assignment of policies.—Assignment of the policy by the assignee.—A policy of life insurance not a negotiable instrument.

VI. Various Systems of Life Insurance:

1. Old line (explained in the above discussion).
2. Assessmentism: Its growth and decline. The fundamental error of this plan of insurance.
3. Fraternal insurance:

Growth of fraternal insurance in the United States and its present magnitude.—Characteristics which distinguish it from other kinds of life insurance.—Legal character of these associations.—Discussion of the fraternal certificate.—Evolution of fraternal rates, and the tendency to adopt the protective features of old line insurance.—Lapses in.—Rates of various societies compared.—State legislation concerning.—English method of regulating the "friendly societies."—The work of the National Fraternal Congress.

4. Industrial Insurance:

History and remarkable growth of.—Differences between industrial and ordinary insurance.—Object and advantages of.—The policy analyzed.—Mortality experience in.—Premium charges, tables of benefits, surrender values, etc.—Manner of calculating the rates.—Organization of the field.—A business of detail and elaborate organization.—A costly form of insurance, and the reasons why.

VII. Organization of an Insurance Company:

1. Explanation of the work done by the several departments of a company.
2. Agency Organization:
Different plans followed.—The agent and his qualifications.—Agency organizations.

VIII. Investment of the Funds of Life Insurance Companies:

1. Growth, extent and character of such investments.
2. Investments of a number of companies analyzed.
3. How life insurance companies differ from other investors.
4. Motives which guide the placing of investments and the investments considered best suited for life insurance purposes.
5. Method of procedure in placing investments,

- 6. Earning power of the various classes of life insurance investments compared.
- 7. Requirements of state statutes.
- IX. **A critical discussion of the relation of life insurance to the state as regards taxation and supervision.**
- X. **Accident Insurance.**
A combination of various kinds of insurance.—Analysis of a typical accident policy.—Classification of risks.—Numerous considerations entering the proper determination of rates.—Statistical summary of accidents over a series of years.—The moral hazard in.—The reinsurance reserve in.

FIRE INSURANCE

- I. **History of fire insurance in the United States.**
- II. **The theory of fire insurance:**
 - 1. The underlying principles of fire insurance.
 - 2. Differences between fire and life insurance:
As regards the certainty of the loss.—Scientific character of the business.—Term of contract.—Cancellation of policies.—Changing conditions of the business.
- III. **The importance of fire insurance in business:**
 - 1. Its importance as indemnity for loss.
 - 2. Its value as collateral security.
- IV. **Policy Contracts in Fire Insurance, involving a complete analysis of the provisions of the standard fire policy together with a legal interpretation of the same. (The law of Pennsylvania emphasized.)**
 - 1. History of policy contracts in the United States.
 - 2. Leading forms of policies now in use. (Following discussion will refer chiefly to the Standard Fire Policy.)
 - 3. Rules underlying the interpretation of the policy contract:
 - (a) Rule that as the policy is prepared by the insurer it should be construed in favor of the insured when doubt as to its meaning exists.
 - (b) Written parts of the contract control the printed parts.
 - (c) Every policy is an original independent agreement taking effect from date, and its interpretation not to be controlled by prior policies of which it is the renewal.
 - (d) Standard policy a statutory law as well as a contract.
 - (e) Effect of a violation of condition in the policy; conflicting opinion concerning.

4. Parties to the contract:

(a) The insurer:

- (i) Various kinds of companies.—The organization of fire insurance companies, and state statutes concerning. (The law of Pennsylvania emphasized.)
- (ii) Fire insurance agents.—Who is agent of the company.—Various classes of agents.—Powers of general agents and special agents.—Power of an agent no larger than those conferred by the principal.—Distinction between insurance agent and broker.—Statutory provisions relating to insurance agents and brokers.—When acts of solicitor will bind principal, and when not.—Legal effect of agents' opinion.—Liability of agent to principal for misconduct.—When agent is liable to the insured.—Authority of agent to change the policy.—Evidence of agency.

(b) The insured:

Who may and who may not insure.—The fire insurance policy a personal contract.—Insurable interest defined and explained.—Illustrations of insurable interest as decided by American courts.—The time of insurable interest and the continuity of insurable interest.—Legal interpretation of policy provisions as regards interest, title, possession or ownership, incumbrances, chattel mortgages, sales, legal process or judgment, assignment or bankruptcy proceedings, leases, misconduct of insured in procuring policy, etc.

5. The hazard:

- (a) Meaning of "all direct loss or damage by fire" in law.
- (b) Liability of company only for cash value of property at time of loss or damage with proper deduction for depreciation.—Explanation of.
- (c) Options, which company may exercise in indemnifying losses, explained.
- (d) Explanation of the provision providing that the company only insures described property "while located and contained as described herein, and not elsewhere, to wit."
- (e) Explanation of the standard policy provision as to authorized change of location.

- (f) The doctrine of proximate cause.
 - (g) Losses not covered by policy under certain conditions.
 - (h) Excluded risks.
6. Policy provisions referring to the description of the property:
- Warranties and Representations:
- Definition of and distinction between.—Test of materiality of representations.—Effect of a breach of warranty.—What is performance of a warranty and what is not.—Statutory provisions concerning.—Provision in the policy that all applications, surveys, plans or descriptions of property referred to in policy shall be considered as constituting warranties and as being a part of the contract.
7. The Consideration:
- What the consideration comprises.—Policy will be void without consideration.—Insurer cannot plead non-payment of premium when policy acknowledges receipt of same.—The premium to be paid as stipulated.—To be paid in money.—Payment of the premium by note.—When payment to broker is payment to the company.—Rules pertaining to the refunding of premiums.
8. The amount of insurance: Policy provisions referring to other insurance.—No double insurance unless same interest is protected by both policies.—Legal interpretation of complicated cases.
9. The Term:
- (a) Contract not complete without specification of the term.—When the insurance begins, according to law.
 - (b) Renewal of the policy.—Renewal by indorsement on policy, or by issuing a renewal receipt, or by issuing new policies.—Points of law decided with reference to renewal contracts.
 - (c) Cancellation of the policy.
10. Privileges which must be endorsed on the policy or added thereto by agreement. (Their importance explained and the principal court cases considered in connection with each):
- (a) The procuring of other insurance.
 - (b) Operating manufacturing establishment over time.
 - (c) Increase in hazard.
 - (d) Altering or repairing premises for more than a certain period.
 - (e) Keeping on the premises certain enumerated articles.

- (f) Keeping the building vacant or unoccupied for a certain length of time.
- (g) Changes in title, possession or ownership:
 - If chattel mortgage is placed on property.—If foreclosure proceedings be commenced.—If change in title, interest or possession for any reason except death and change of occupants without increase of hazard.—Defeasible conveyance.—Transfer by or between partners.—Assignment and bankruptcy proceedings.—Transfer by death.—Leasing of the property.—Assignment of the policy before a loss.
- 11. The Mortgage Clause:
 - Insurable interest of the mortgagee.—Separate interest of the mortgagee and mortgagor.—Discussion of the four methods of insuring the mortgagee's interest.—Assignment of the policy to the mortgagee.—The open mortgage clause.—The union mortgage clause.—Subrogation under the mortgage clause.—Cases where insurer will not be liable under the mortgage clause.
- 12. Contribution:
 - Legal explanation of the contribution clause.—Importance of the words "valid or not valid" as contained in the clause.—Explanation of various clauses now in general use, such as the "percentage value clause," the "three-quarters loss clause," etc.—Contribution when policies are general or specific.—Application of the contribution clause to various complicated cases.—Contribution under the mortgage clause; when it may be claimed, and when not.
- 13. Subrogation:
 - The general principles underlying.—The legal interpretation of the clause.—Subrogation and the mortgage clause.—Subrogation in the case of carriers.
- 14. Co-Insurance:
 - Definition of.—Reasons for its general adoption.—Co-insurance clause now in general use.—Illustrations of its application.—Anti-Co-insurance.—Co-insurance legislation.
- 15. Re-insurance:
 - Policy provides for specific agreement concerning.—The two views prevailing in the country as regards the position of the original insured to the contract of re-insurance.
- 16. The assignment of the policy.
- 17. Policy provisions relating to matters required to be done after a loss has taken place:

- (a) Duty of the insured to send immediate notice of loss and to preserve the property as much as possible.
- (b) Duty of the insured to render a prescribed statement to company, and to furnish various plans, specifications and certificates on demand.
- (c) Duty of insured to exhibit what remains of property, and furnish books, accounts, bills, etc., and to submit to examination under oath.
- (d) The appraisal of losses.

V. Adjustment of Losses:

- 1. Manner of adjusting losses as regards different classes of property.
- 2. Law pertaining to the adjustment of claims.

VI. Fire Prevention.

VII. Fire Insurance Rates and Schedule Rating:

- 1. Fire hazards analyzed.
- 2. History of classification and inspection of risks.
- 3. Numerous obstacles to scientific fire rating.
- 4. Average schedule used in towns and cities of moderate size described.
- 5. The Universal Mercantile Schedule:
 - (a) History of the schedule.
 - (b) Schedules in most large cities a modified form of the Universal Mercantile Schedule.
 - (c) Principles which guided the making of the schedule.
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 - (e) The order of treatment in fixing a rate on a building.
 - (f) The order of treatment in fixing a rate on stock.
 - (g) The fire-proof schedule analyzed, explained, and applied.
 - (h) The advantages derived from the schedule.
- 6. The "Dean" Schedule:
 - (a) The differences between the Universal Mercantile Schedule and the Dean Schedule.
 - (b) The line of reasoning underlying the Dean Schedule as regards percentage additions and deductions, classification of exposure, classification of occupancy, etc.
 - (c) The manner of determining the rate on buildings under the Dean Schedule.
 - (d) The manner of determining the rate on stock.

VIII. The Re-insurance Reserve:

- 1. Its purpose.

2. Various standards advocated for its computation and criticism of the same.
 3. Method of computing reserve for annual and term policies.
- IX. The Organization and Management of the Fire Insurance System:**
1. The home office.
 2. The agency system.
 3. Associations of fire underwriters.
 4. The tracing of a policy from the time of application to the payment of the claim.
- X. Relation of fire insurance to the state as regards organization, legislation, taxation and supervision.** A discussion of valued policy laws, anti-compact laws, anti-co-insurance laws, etc.
- XI. Marine Insurance:**
1. Rise and decline of marine insurance in the United States, and its present magnitude.
 2. The organization and purposes of Lloyds.
 3. Various kinds of policies discussed.
 4. Character of the risk assumed.
 5. The perils insured against.
 6. The losses arising from marine perils.
 - (a) Total loss.
 - (b) General average.
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 7. Other insurance.
 8. Policy provisions protecting the underwriter against fraud, unnecessary loss and undesirable risks.
 9. Warranties and representations in marine insurance.
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- XII. Employers' Liability Insurance:**
1. The development of the Law of negligence in England and America. The present status of the law of negligence in the United States.
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 5. The classification of risks.
 6. The expenses connected with.
 7. The features peculiar to Liability insurance as compared with other forms of insurance, such as changes in the basis for rating, changes in the law of negligence, the effect of environment, changes in the general average of wages, deferred claims, etc., etc.
- XIII. Corporate Suretyship:**
1. The history of.
 2. The present extent of.

3. The advantages of.
4. The various kinds of policies.
5. The determination of the liability assumed by the companies, and the computation of the premium.

EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS

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A sufficiently large body of business men and of educators is in such substantial agreement upon the question of the desirability of institutions of commercial education in the United States, that the fundamental question of desirability may be considered settled, and problems which were formerly subsidiary may be brought to the front. Present discussion should be directed towards an analysis of business and of various schemes of instruction, for the purpose of determining what business may properly claim the service of commercial education, and what particular scheme of instruction may be best adapted to the needs of a particular business. It is the purpose of this article to present an analysis, general rather than close, of the educational needs of business, and to suggest certain principles that should be observed in the adaptation to it of courses in commercial education.

Leaving out of consideration the moral qualities — qualities that are essential to ultimate efficiency in every walk of life — the two fundamental qualities demanded by a business concern of its employees, are technical skill and ability to manage. The term employee is here used in its broadest sense, as embracing ordinary skilled labor on the one hand and the salaried manager of a corporation on the other; it is evident, therefore, that a business concern may demand in its employees all sorts and conditions of technical skill and of ability to manage, and that industry as a whole demands sorts and degrees of skill impossible of enumeration. This condition being one of the first that commercial education should recognize, one of the first inquiries it should make of itself is, how it can develop in young men, to the advantage of business, various degrees of these two fundamental characteristics.

With regard to managerial ability, the writer has elsewhere ex-

pressed the opinion that it would be presumptuous for commercial education to pretend to develop it by any direct means. Managerial ability is made up of three main elements. The first is a temperamental element. The successful manager must be of the motor type of individuals, one who impresses himself upon others, one who possesses initiative. This temperamental characteristic cannot be acquired; it is born in the individual. Education can do no more than direct it. The second element is adaptability, adjustability to persons and circumstances. This element is socially developed and may be a product of education. It is, in fact, the product of a young man's whole environment — home, play-ground, school, base ball and social gatherings. The important point for the present discussion is that for its development a commercial course is less efficient than the ordinary high school or college course. The third element of managerial ability is technical knowledge, a knowledge of the field of management. A good manager is one who unites the three elements — a motor temperament, the ability to adjust himself to circumstances, and this knowledge of the field of management. It is by providing the third element that commercial education can aid in developing managerial ability. It must leave the first element to birth, it should leave the second element to social life as expressed in the home and the public school system, but the development of the third element it may claim as its own especial function.

If the accuracy of this analysis of the elements of managerial ability be admitted, the logical conclusion is, that of the two qualities demanded in its employees by a firm — technical skill and skill in management, industrial education should aim to develop only technical skill. Industrial education should leave culture courses and the general training of the young man to the high school and the college, and should devote all its energy to giving him knowledge of the facts and principles of business in general and of his future business in particular. It should not attempt to perform the function of the public school system. It should leave to that system the general training of the mind and the general training of the man; then, at the end of his grammar school, high school or college course (according to the grade of training it aspires to give), the commercial school should take the young man and by practical, technical instruction develop the business side. The school and the college should take the crude ore and produce from it the pure metal,

capable of being fashioned to a variety of uses; the commercial school should take the pure metal and fashion it for a particular use. The economics of business organization should be secured in the organization of the educational system; the greater efficiency of division of processes should be recognized.

If industrial education can render the greatest service to business by attending directly to instruction in business facts and principles and by leaving to the general educational system the training of the man, at what time should it receive the student from the general educational system, and after it has received him, should it aim to train merely in the general principles of business, or for specific businesses as well? The two parts of this question should be considered in turn.

The fact, to which attention has already been called, that business requires all sorts and degrees of skill, suggests at once that industrial schools should be so graded as to receive the products of the general school system at various ages, after mental training of varying degrees of thoroughness, and for the purpose of training for various grades of service. A rough classification of grades of skilled service will make clear the reasonableness of this suggestion.

The first grade of service is that represented by ordinary skilled labor. This skilled labor is of two classes; that of the hand or machine worker and that of the clerk in the office. The skilled worker of the first class should be trained by the trade school and may be taken at an early age with a minimum of public school training. The office clerk is trained at an early age by the business college. Inasmuch as office work serves as an avenue for further advancement, (to capable men,) it is not unlikely that this service will be performed by an increasing number of young men trained for higher positions.

The second grade of service is that performed by the scientific worker, represented by the chemist, the accountant, the actuary, the factory statistician, and the foreign exchange clerk. These are services requiring the highest degree of scientific knowledge, and it is obvious that no man deficient in training will succeed in performing them satisfactorily. No firm thinks of employing as a chemist a man who has not had a collegiate training, and the other lines represent as high a degree of skill. Here is the place for commercial schools of at least college rank; a thorough knowledge of

foreign exchange, actuarial science, and the higher forms of accounting can be acquired only by a special training equal in rank to that of the college.

A third grade of service is that performed by managers of departments. In addition to initiative, the ability to handle men and the technical knowledge represented by the lesser grades, the requirement for the performance of a service of this grade is that wider technical knowledge which is expressed in an appreciation of the requirements of the department as a part of the business, and in an appreciation of the most advanced methods applied to the operation of similar departments. In the development of these superior abilities is again found the place for institutions of higher commercial education. This development requires a thorough training in the methods of modern business organization and administration, training that can yield its best results only when given to minds already well disciplined.

The fourth grade of service is that represented by the responsible manager, who is concerned with the broader problems of the business, who organizes, finances and determines policies. This grade of service requires ability of the highest order, an ability in which capacity for initiative and for handling men is not less important than a thorough knowledge of the business on its technical side. As has been suggested in the consideration of managerial ability, the quality of initiative must be a natural gift and the capacity for handling men must be the result of a broader training than can be offered by a commercial school; but thorough technical knowledge, without which initiative and the capacity for handling men are ineffective, industrial education can give. Technical knowledge, when used in connection with services of this class, must not be conceived too narrowly. Just as the technical knowledge of the laborer of the second grade of service must be more comprehensive than that of the laborer of the first grade, and as that of the laborer of the third must be more comprehensive than that of the second grade so the technical skill of him in the fourth grade must comprehend all that is implied in the other three and much in addition. The mind of the manager must understand his business in all its relations—political, social, and economic. It must perceive tendencies that are concealed beneath the surface of events, and thus be able to judge of the future. It must be, to use a common expres-

sion, the mind of a "long-headed business man." It is believed by many that such a capacity can be developed only by actual experience in business, and that for its development education is useless. Nothing can be more true than that experience is necessary, but nothing can be less true than that education is useless. Business experience is the observation and the interpretation of business phenomena, and the value of such observation and interpretation depends upon the mental ability and the knowledge of facts and principles that one takes into experience. No service that commercial education can perform is of greater importance than that of providing a man, before he enters upon experience, with a knowledge of the broadest relations of the business, the facts concerning which are to be found in the records of the experience of others. For illustration, what an advantage in the interpretation of experience is possessed by the young man, new in the banking processes, who has, in addition to an acquaintance with the routine operations, that broad technical information imparted by the serious study of such articles as those published in the *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, and by the intelligent reading of such works as Goschen's *Essays and Addresses*! What an advantage will be possessed by that young man, entering the employment of a railroad, who has, in addition to a knowledge of the systems by which routine is carried on, that broad information represented by the ability to make an intelligent analysis of various companies' policies as to construction, maintenance and operation! In imparting such a knowledge of the facts and principles of a business as is suggested by these illustrations, will commercial education find one of its most precious opportunities; and in determining the degree of previous training that shall be required of a young man before he shall be permitted to receive such information, will it find one of the most important problems. A commercial school should not venture to offer such advanced technical training to minds that have not had the mental discipline of a collegiate course and that have not acquired that grasp of fundamental facts of industrial life and of economic principles which is afforded by a thorough collegiate course in economics.

The general analysis of industrial services makes it apparent that there are many classes, and within each class many degrees of technical skill that commercial education may develop. A comprehensive system of commercial education should present a series of in-

stitutions graded according to the preliminary general training required and the nature of the technical instruction offered. The system of commercial education should be parallel to the general public school and college system. Each system should adhere to the performance of its proper function. The general system should give the mental discipline and aim at the general training of the man; the system of commercial schools should receive the youth or man from the public school or college and concentrate its energy on fitting him to perform skillfully some service or class of services required by the business world. The trade school or the business college may receive the boy from the grammar school and make of him a skilled machinist or a skilled stenographer; a commercial school higher in rank may receive the youth from the high school and fit him to perform business functions of higher rank; while the commercial school at the top of the series may receive the product of collegiate training, and make of him a skilled accountant, or actuary, or foreign exchange clerk, giving him that broad knowledge of business facts and that insight into business principles which will enable him, under the influence of experience, to acquire that comprehensive knowledge of business affairs which is one of the elements of successful management.

It has been implied in the course of this article that the schools of the commercial system should train for specific business positions as well as in the general principles of business. The specialization of industrial functions has made this necessary and possible. The need of the textile manufacturer of New England, because he has been driven into the manufacture of finer yarns and fabrics by the competition of the South, is for skilled operators of textile machinery, skilled dyers and skilled designers. The need of the manufacturer of machinery, in order that he may succeed in competition with manufacturers using the skilled labor of England, is a supply of labor rendered equally skillful by training.¹ The need of the firm trading with South American peoples is for men trained to handle the peculiar conditions of that particular market. The need of the international banker is for men trained in all the intricacies of the buying and selling of foreign exchange (he now sends to European commercial schools for men so trained). The need of the railroad company is for men who are not only able to perform the routine

¹ F. A. Vanderlip, *Scribner's* March, 1905, p. 339.

functions of a clerk, but who have so comprehensive a grasp of the whole complex railroad machine as to be able to take the responsibility of keeping a particular part of the machine nicely adjusted to the whole.² The business concern has relied as long as is possible on the general intelligence of the American youth; its need, in the approaching era of closer competition, narrower profits, and more highly organized system, is that same American intelligence specifically trained for the performance of its particular services.

Not every service requires that degree of technical skill, nor does every business present that body of facts and principles, which makes possible a formal course of instruction in preparation for it. The necessity or the practicability of special training for any particular service or business must be determined by a consideration of the conditions that are present. The conditions that make such special training desirable and practicable may be enumerated as follows:

1. If the occupation is one requiring special manual dexterity, or the application of a special ability such as the artistic, and the application of either becomes most efficient when directed by a thorough understanding of the principles underlying it, schools of special training will be of value to the business interested. It is necessary, for illustration, only to call attention to the marked success of European weaving, dyeing and designing schools, and of schools for teaching machine practice. These schools may take the individual at an early age and may be satisfied with a minimum amount of previous training.

2. If the occupation is one requiring the application of a highly developed science, special training is practicable, desirable and possibly essential. Mention has been made of the increasing use of chemistry in industrial processes, such as iron and steel manufacture. The training for such an occupation must be of an advanced order, must be thorough and of long duration, and must be built upon an advanced general training. Such a knowledge of chemistry as would enable a man to apply it to industrial processes can be acquired only by a special training following the general college training in chemistry. Chemistry is here used as an illustration because the facts concerning it are well known. The same may be said, however, of other occupations. How much more efficient will be

² See Levy, *Die Stahlindustrie der Vereinigten Staaten*, pp. 309-315.

the work of a clerk in the actuarial department of an insurance company, how much more rapid can be his promotion, if he comes with a knowledge of actuarial mathematics! A satisfactory training in actuarial mathematics can be given only to the student who has carried his collegiate mathematics through calculus. How much more efficient will be the work of a clerk in a foreign exchange department, if he comes with a special training in the operations and principles of foreign exchange, built upon a thorough college course in economics. It could not well be built upon a less substantial foundation.

3. If the occupation is one requiring a knowledge of unusual market conditions, such as the language, customs and other peculiarities of a foreign people, special training will increase the efficiency of the young man entering it. This is especially true of the young man about to begin a career as a salesman in a foreign country. The superiority of German and of certain other European salesmen in South American markets is due to a fine appreciation of the customs of the buyer, which appreciation is due to a special training whose object was its development. What is true of a salesman traveling in the foreign market is not less true of one who sells in the foreign market but who resides in the country of manufacture. He may be in the employ of a trading company or of a manufacturing concern producing goods for export trade. He must know the conditions of his market, its tastes, its currency and banking system, its methods of credit, the conditions that make good or bad times and affect its purchasing power, the conditions of transportation, the methods of quoting goods, and so on. Because of his dependence on the reading of the newspapers of his market, his dependence on a knowledge of the language is as great as that of the traveling salesman. It might reasonably be said to be greater, for he attempts at long range to accomplish as much as the other.

4. If the business is one whose organization is complex,—is, so to speak, a huge machine with intricate, finely adjusted parts, special training will increase the efficiency of the young man occupying a position in it. Such a training will tend to counteract the narrowing influence on the young man of the modern specialization of routine functions. The result of this tendency is to drive the clerk into the rut of dead routine, whence there is no outlook upon the business as a

whole. The harmful results are of two kinds. First, his routine work becomes less efficient because not given life by a comprehension of its place in the system, and second, the growth of the man for more responsible positions is stunted. The latter is a serious matter for the manager, for the more responsible the position the more difficult it is to find an efficient man to fill it. One of the problems of the manager of the operating department of a railroad system would become less serious, were he able to employ for his force men who had been trained in the general principles of railroad operation before entering upon the performance of routine duties,—men who are already acquainted with the actual methods of operation employed by typical systems.

5. If the business is one which has vital, complex relations to other businesses or to general trade conditions,—relations which are as likely to make necessary sudden changes in policy as to involve the carrying out of far-reaching policies, special training can play a large part in the development of the insight necessary for the successful pursuit of such business. Reference may be made to the railroad business as an illustration of that class involving far-reaching policies. A superintendent of traffic may be called upon to report to the president upon the traffic aspects of the investment of millions of dollars in the building of a line into the new territory, an investment the return on which cannot begin for a number of years. The report involves more than intuition or guess work; it involves a study of records for the purpose of determining the relation between traffic and the industrial conditions of a region; it involves a study of the region in question for the purpose of determining, on the basis of soil, climate, industrial characteristics of the people, and other factors, the probable future industrial importance of the region. Railroad history furnishes a body of facts and principles which may be correlated and made the material of instruction in traffic management: the history of the development of the traffic policy of that greatest of operators, James J. Hill, is almost a text-book in itself. With regard to that class of businesses involving sudden changes in policy, or involving the adjustment of the business to varying conditions, as an illustration of a conservative form, textile manufacturing may be cited, as an illustration of an extreme form, dealing on the cotton exchange. In both illustrative businesses contracts are made to a greater or less degree on the basis of estimated future

conditions, the accuracy of the respective estimations depending upon a judgment involving a large number of different factors. The record of the relations of these conditions to the business offers a body of experience and principles which is proper material for instruction. There can be no doubt that, of two groups of young men in whose situations other things are equal, the group which has prefaced its actual experience in business with such instruction as is here suggested, will develop a larger percent of individuals capable of handling the larger problems of the business.

If any one of the five enumerated conditions is presented by a business, a course of specialized training for that business will be of value to the young man about to enter it and to his employer. If more than one of the conditions is presented, so much the more valuable will be the specialized training. And, as a matter of fact, there is scarcely an important business in which, if one of the conditions is found, others will not be found in combination. Even an ordinary retail business, for which training would seem to be least necessary, may present the conditions of complex organization and systematization, and the condition which makes desirable the most scientific accounting and analysis of trading accounts. In those businesses which are of such a nature as to make desirable the corporate form of organization, nearly all of the conditions are found in combination. With respect to the course of training for any particular business, the elements which should enter into that course should be determined by an analysis of the business, the analysis having as its object a determination of what conditions are present. In accordance with this idea, the writer purposes, in conclusion, to suggest what elements may properly enter into special courses of training for a number of typical businesses.

At this point it is necessary to emphasize the opinion which has been advanced in the course of this article, that the specialized higher commercial training should be built upon the training offered by a greater part or the whole of a four years college course. This general training may be looked upon as preparatory to the specialized commercial training, just as it may be looked upon as preparatory to a course in a law or medical school. It is the view of the writer that the young man should have had in this preparatory training, at least work in English composition and rhetoric and the elementary work in one or more modern languages; work in history which has

given him a moderate amount of practice in collecting and judging the value of historical evidence; and work which has involved not only the study of economic history and the elementary principles of economics, but also the application of these principles to live economic problems, such as those of labor or of corporate organization.

1. Elements that are common to all forms of business, and that should be regarded in the organization of every course of training for a particular business. The elements are four in number. (a) Accounting. In training in this element of business, the aim should be not to develop an expert accountant, but to give every student the information necessary to perform routine work in accounting, to analyze intelligently balance sheets and profit and loss statements, and to construct statistical statements of the relations of gross and net profits, fixed and variable expenses, and so on, during a period of years. (b) Modern language. Nearly every business may require the practical use of a modern language, such as Spanish in making quotations to South American buyers; or may be one, the best information concerning which is locked up in a foreign language, as is the case with banking and French. (c) Commercial law. The purpose of instruction in commercial law should be not to make "every man his own lawyer," but to give every business man a knowledge of the proper legal forms of commercial papers, and an appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of individuals, whether personal or corporate, principal or agent. (d) History of the technical development of typical industries. Instruction in this phase of business should give the student an appreciation of the changes that have taken place during recent years in the use of machinery, the methods of buying and selling, the conditions of transportation, the forms of organization, the regard for economies, and the general methods of conducting business. There is hardly a business, a proper performance of which does not require a greater or less familiarity with these four elements.

2. Elements peculiar to accountancy. Four elements should be emphasized in a course of special training for the accounting profession. (a) The technique of bookkeeping, accounting and auditing, including the logic of grouping and combining accounts for the purpose of drawing conclusions concerning the conditions represented by the accounts. (b) Corporation finance, involving an understanding of the theory and methods of financial operations, and

the rationale of various surplus, dividend and similar policies. (c) Business organization and systematization, involving a knowledge of the relations of departments and of process. (d) Corporation law. The certification of an auditor frequently involves a certification of the agreement of methods and policies with statute law or charter requirements.

3. Elements peculiar to a particular manufacturing or mercantile business. No two such businesses will agree in the details of the elements presented by the business, but the differing detailed elements fall into certain well defined groups. (a) The technical aspect of the business, irrespective of the application of a particular science, involving a knowledge of its materials, the markets of their production, the development of technical processes, and the conditions affecting the consumption of the particular finished products. (b) The scientific aspects of the business, where it is one involving the application of a developed science, such as chemistry in aniline dye manufacture, or designing in the manufacture of fabrics, or preserving in the manufacture of food products. (c) Organization and systematization as applied to the particular kind of business. The history of many a business suggests what particular form of legal organization is best adapted to it; the comparison of the many forms of systematization will indicate what element of each is most suitable for the efficient administration of the business; and experience may throw light on the most efficient organization of processes,—may determine whether a firm should undertake all or only a series of processes. (d) The relation of business to general market conditions. The policy of the conduct of a business for a given year may vary with variations in general business conditions, especially if the business has a close relation to a number of other businesses. A flood, a drought, the condition of a crop, the condition of the money market, a plague of speculation, an acute diplomatic situation, and many other conditions may affect the course of a business.

4. Elements peculiar to foreign trade. (a) Modern language, especially Spanish. (b) The commercial geography of the principal countries with which foreign trade is conducted, including racial characteristics, and the banking and other business methods of the peoples. (c) The methods of conducting foreign trade practiced by the leading commercial countries, involving a knowledge of the

legal and customary requirements of the various documents employed. (d) The theory and methods of foreign exchange.

5. Elements peculiar to the banking business. (a) The organization of the bank and the significance of its routine. (b) Special forms of accounting, for example, that of investment accounting. (c) The theory and the methods of foreign exchange, a branch distinct and highly developed. (d) The relation of the bank to the money and stock markets. (e) The relation of the bank to general industrial conditions, as affecting the investment and loan policy. (f) Corporation finance and business management, a thorough understanding of which is essential to the establishment of a safe loan and investment policy. (g) Banking law, involving a knowledge of the legal rights and responsibilities of bank officials, the handling of trust funds, and an observation of the exacting requirements of laws governing bank organization and practice.

6. Elements peculiar to the transportation business. (a) The application of accounting to the peculiar requirements of transportation. (b) The application of statistics as a logical method of deriving principles from the multiplicity of data collected in the conduct of the business. (c) The organization of the system and the organization and functions of the departments of the system. (d) Theories of administration,—construction, maintenance, operation, rate making and finance. (e) The relations of the business to the general industrial conditions and to the particular conditions of its territory. (f) Railroad law,—the rights and responsibilities of a railroad as a common carrier and as a quasi-public corporation.

7. Elements peculiar to the insurance business. (a) The economic function of insurance. (b) Actuarial mathematics. (c) The investment of trust funds. (d) The special form of accounting applicable to an insurance office and its branches. (e) The organization of an insurance company, and the functions of departments. (f) Insurance law,—the legal rights and responsibilities of a fiduciary corporation and of its officers.

This analysis of the elements of a variety of businesses does not pretend to be exhaustive; its purpose is to emphasize the opinion that there is a large number of businesses which have accumulated such a body of facts and principles, and whose various functions and relations have become so well defined, as to present subjects for instruction in special courses of training for young men about to en-

ter them,— courses of training that may be made thoroughly *practical* without being *practice* courses; that may be presented according to scientific methods of instruction, and that may be profitably given to minds which have been well disciplined by the general training of the college. It emphasizes also the fact that higher education for business is not a new name for the education offered by the business college, and is not a substitute for experience, but that it is a legitimate phase of education which invites the co-operation of business men and of educators for the purpose of its development.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR BUSINESS PURSUITS AND MANUFACTURING

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This subject, as formulated, assumes the need and value of training for business and industrial pursuits. No argument is necessary to establish this fact. It is just as true that suitable training is required for a business career as that suitable training is required for the professions, so called. It is equally true that, until a comparatively recent period, no direct provision has been made in our educational systems for a preparation for business.

Two theories of education are held: one that the proper method is the development of the faculties of the student without reference to ulterior pursuits, and the other that the course of study should be *informing* and directed to the proper mental equipment. We cannot deny the value of general culture. It is true that the properly trained mind can adapt itself to requirements of every description; but this view assumes what may not be admitted — that both culture and training cannot be effected in a properly selected curriculum. Who shall say that the study of the natural sciences is not as valuable for purposes of culture as the study of metaphysics, or that the study of mathematics in their application to mechanical principles is not more effective for culture than their study in the abstract? Can it be maintained that the study of modern history and commercial geography is less effective in promoting the training of the faculties than the study of ancient history and archæology? It is the discipline of difficulty which counts; and if the subjects on which the faculties are exercised are such as may prove valuable and informing for future use, there is no ground for their condemnation. If, then, these two theories of education can be harmonized, the solution of the problem is at hand.

Our subject requires the consideration of the relative position in any curriculum, of special training and, incidentally, of the time

which should be allotted to such studies. In order to properly consider this point it is necessary at the outset to define what we mean by "business." The term has a much broader significance now than it had 250 or 200 years ago, when the first American colleges were founded. Then it meant almost exclusively the retail sale of commodities. The transactions involved were of the simplest character. Barter, the exchange of one article for another, constituted the main function. Finance as a science was not involved. There was confessedly little room for eminent intellectual qualifications. There were no manufactures worthy of the name in this country prior to the Revolution. The English policy was to maintain its manufactures at home and to use its colonies as consumers, receiving in exchange the products of the soil and the ocean.

There were no inland transportation problems of importance. The pack horse or the Conestoga wagon was the sum of this interest. There was little or no commercial finance. Banks were few and inadequate for private enterprise. Legislatures were slow to grant charters. Banks were regarded rather as monopolies than as aids to business efforts. The Legislature of Pennsylvania demanded a payment of \$135,000 in consideration of the grant of a charter in 1804 to the Philadelphia Bank.

Insurance as a business was unknown, except as to marine risks. Life insurance, based as it is on scientific data, had not been evolved, and fire insurance was only developed toward the close of the eighteenth century. Such were the conditions when the original American colleges were founded. Small wonder that they did not recognize business pursuits, limited and simple as they then were, as fitting careers for their beneficiaries. On the contrary, their avowed object was, at the first, chiefly the training of men for the Christian ministry. The purpose of the founding of Harvard was stated to be "in order that the Church might have able pastors and that learning might not be buried in the graves of the fathers." Yale was founded in 1701 by a number of Connecticut ministers. The object set forth in the charter was "that youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who, through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for further employment, both in Church and civil State."

In contrast with the conditions originally prevailing, we may

attempt to indicate what is included in the term "business" to-day. Its significance has been greatly enlarged. It covers a vast range of processes and industries. It affords opportunities to utilize nearly every branch of learning included in a university curriculum. A single pursuit may call in play qualifications most diverse. Perhaps the leading pursuits which are covered by the general title "business" are:

Mercantile transactions, wholesale and retail.

The importation and exportation of commodities.

Transportation, by railroad, by vessel, and otherwise.

Insurance — fire, marine, and life.

Mines.

Manufactures.

Agriculture.

Finance.

What, then, we may inquire, are the features of some of these vocations, which may afford fitting fields for the abilities of college graduates?

First, as to mercantile transactions. Their scope to-day is much broader than the mere sale of commodities. Stocks of goods are purchased in the markets of the world. Foreign countries must contribute. Familiarity with the products and the processes of other lands is necessary. A knowledge of other languages is essential. Physical geography is an element. Details of manufacturing processes are involved. The buyer, possessing these qualifications, is even more important than the seller. Then over all, or co-ordinating with all, is the executive management, involving ability in organization and conduct, in finance, in importing, in shipping and in transportation. A business like Mr. Wanamaker's, for example, has 5,068 salespeople and 6,243 other than salespeople, such as buyers, managers, clerks, and accountants, who are seldom visible to the ordinary customer.

Closely related to trade is transportation. This, with its movement of merchandise and passengers, has come to be one of the greatest interests of modern times. Independent of water carriage, the matter of land transportation by railways has become in this century one of the largest industries. The United States has now over 200,000 miles of steam railways and over 30,000 miles of electric lines. It is a fair estimate that these give employment to near-

ly 1,500,000 of operatives, and they, in turn, represent 7,500,000 men, women and children, or nearly one-tenth of our population.

In the conduct of this vast interest a large variety of ability is demanded. Mechanical knowledge, engineering skill, scientific attainments, familiarity with agricultural and mineralogical conditions, executive force and financial ability of a high order — all are required in the various functions of a successful railroad man. In fact, in the head of any great railroad system a combination of many, if not all of these requirements, is invaluable. Hence, it will be found in many cases that one who has the advantages of such a liberal education as an engineering or a professional course supplies is naturally most competent for the leadership of these vast enterprises. Mr. Cassatt is a civil engineer by profession; Mr. Baer a lawyer.

Another branch of business which has grown to large proportions in modern times is insurance. This is of comparatively recent origin. The method and plans of university education were formulated more than one hundred years before the beginning of this interest. The first office for fire insurance in the United States was opened in Philadelphia in 1752. To-day there are thousands of companies and agencies.

Another branch of the business, viz., life insurance, is of more recent growth. The Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities was incorporated in 1812, and was followed by other corporations having similar objects; but the great business of life insurance, as we know it, may be said to be only a little over fifty years old. In 1843, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, of New York, and the New England Life Insurance Company began business. To-day the number of companies has greatly increased, and the capital involved is immense. At the close of 1901 the assets of the various United States companies had involved the enormous aggregate of \$1,879,624,564, and there were 7,500,000,000 risks out. The assets of a single leading United States company, as last reported, approximated \$350,000,000. The business of life insurance, therefore, involves the custody and maintenance of this enormous capital. Investments must be found for this vast accumulation of money. Business ability of a high order and of varied character is required to pass upon the merits of the enterprises of all descriptions in which funds must be put to

insure their safe preservation and liberal yield of income. Most of us, perhaps, have derived our ideas of life insurance from the irrepressible solicitor, who makes life a burden to us until we have taken a policy. But this is only an incident and a small part of what is involved in this vast interest in the light of recent developments.

Included in the realm of business is the enormous interest of manufactures. To this we may give supreme position. It is the creation, out of the raw material of nature, of articles for the comfort, convenience and happiness of mankind. If the old saying be true that "he is a benefactor of the race who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before," much more is it true that he merits the highest place among his fellows who transforms the crude substances of the earth into the finished product which makes for human welfare and which differentiates civilized man from the savage. In the processes involved there is room for ability and knowledge the most varied and extensive. The command of man over nature elevates him to a god-like position.

America has now taken a leading place among the manufacturing nations of the earth. In the variety and quality of products we are unsurpassed. Our textiles find a market in every land. Our agricultural machinery harvests the crops on the plains of Australia and the steppes of Russia. Our typewriters and sewing machines are manipulated by operators of every color and language. Our locomotives cross the deserts of Africa—convey the tourist to the Holy City of Jerusalem, astonish the teeming millions of the Flowery Kingdom, and have transported armies across the Siberian wilderness to the late conflict in the Far East. The value of the exports of manufactured articles from us has risen to over \$450,000,000 annually.

To meet these conditions of modern business life the most complete training is required. There are few, if any, subjects in the modern college curricula which will not come in play, as no man can tell what his career will be or what conditions he may have to meet. The fullest command of all the subjects may be required. The man of affairs to-day may find use, not only for technical knowledge, but for whatever is given by the broadest culture. Some knowledge of both the ancient and modern languages may be required.

Linguistic knowledge of every description, as producing effective ability in composition and style, is a valuable acquisition.

In this connection another accomplishment may be mentioned, which, I fear, is too often neglected in the modern college curriculum. I refer to public speaking. The ability to speak well, freely, logically, and with some degree of grace and eloquence, counts for much, even in mercantile pursuits. It distinguishes a man and secures admiration and respect. I realize the fact that lawyers are more frequently found in public life than business men, and it may be largely attributed to their training as public speakers. This qualification brings them before the public, and there is nothing which so completely compels recognition and esteem. There is no reason why a business man with the gift of oratory should not be, if otherwise fully educated, as competent for public service or political office as the lawyer. In fact, in handling most questions, his qualifications would be superior. In legislation it is often the solution of questions of a business character which counts. A business man, therefore, whose training has qualified him to grapple with such questions, and who can express himself logically and forcibly in maintenance of his views, should occupy a strong position in public life. I think it is a fact that the best lawyers are those who also are the best business men. Add to a knowledge of the methods and problems of business an equally thorough knowledge of the law, as applicable thereto, and you have the highest type of excellence in our present state of society. Is not this a tacit recognition of the value of business training and business methods?

To the question, "What is lacking in the equipment which the ordinary college training yields?" the answer must be given that very little except general culture is produced. Training for any specific pursuit is not included in the usual curriculum. The college does not consider it within its province to teach bookkeeping, stenography, typewriting or even penmanship and spelling. These are usually left to the business college. The graduate is without any specific qualifications for the beginning of a business career. In almost every business one of three things is required for a beginner. First, bookkeeping, if for the accounting department. Second, stenography and typewriting or penmanship, if for the general or correspondence department; and third, special talent for the sales department. This is the trinity of business requirements

of the beginner. The college course does not give any one. The value of these is in gaining a foothold in business, and not in filling any one of them for life. The young man or young woman, beginning as a bookkeeper or stenographer, achieves a connection with business and gains knowledge of the business. Other faculties will come into play, and promotion to more important service will follow. In this way many, conspicuous for executive ability, have begun their careers. It would be well if every college student who contemplates a business career had these qualifications; for, if they are not given in a college course, they must be acquired elsewhere.

One of the secretaries of President Roosevelt's Cabinet began his career as a stenographer. He is now the Postmaster General. Mr. Andrew Carnegie began his career as a telegraph operator and railroad clerk, and the way was open for his attaining to the position of the greatest steel magnate of America. The problem is to find an opening; and no matter how excellent the natural abilities may be, it is difficult for one to get the opportunity to exercise those abilities unless by beginning in a business to do some specific thing, as I have mentioned.

Following this necessarily imperfect formulation of the kind of training required for the man of affairs, consideration may now be given to the question of its place as to time in an educational scheme. Obviously, it should either follow the course in the secondary school or should be made part of a college course. It requires mature faculties to assimilate the subjects involved. To an increasing extent the establishment of special technical schools and the incorporation into the curricula of universities of business courses are arguments for this position. Holding, as I do, a profound respect for many of the methods which have heretofore been followed in the university courses, I would argue for a combination of a business course with the usual college curriculum. The following general plan, it is believed, will best meet modern conditions:

Let the curriculum for the first two or three years be the same as in the course in arts, and leading to the bachelor's degree; then follow with an elective course of two years or more if necessary, giving a training for the profession or vocation in view.

If the choice is a business career, the two years of elective

studies should include such subjects as the mathematics, the natural sciences, political economy, commercial law and commercial geography, the modern languages, and, incidentally, such practical subjects as bookkeeping, stenography, etc. Such a combined course as this would in no wise detract from the dignity of the course of arts, but would supplement that course and give the graduate an equipment qualifying him for a business career.

The original university curriculum was calculated as a training for the ministry; and from the beginning a training for the law, medicine and engineering has required a supplemental course. It would only be logical that a training for a business career should be afforded in the same manner, and should be built on the solid foundation of the broad culture which is afforded by the course in arts. I am loath to abate one iota of the advantages and prestige of the usual college course. Let us concede all the advantages of the broad culture which that course implies, but let us add to it the special training which makes for success in practical affairs and for useful citizenship.

There has been a great change of opinion and custom as to college education for business. The development of the material resources of the country, the institution of various departments of effort and enterprise which were unknown when our colleges were planned, have brought about this change. Not only is the business career more attractive, but it is more necessary. The brief survey of occupations which I gave at the outset, as included in the realm of business, sufficiently indicates this fact. We must remember that when our colleges were first planned our urban population was small. Business was then largely confined to retail operations. The country store, where the farmer exchanged his eggs for molasses or calico or codfish, was the prevailing type. To-day nearly one-third of our population is in cities each of over 25,000 inhabitants.

Mercantile business has been expanded, and wholesale operations of vast proportions are the rule. Manufactures, which were unknown in America, now are prevailing interests throughout the country. The United States has become a manufacturing nation. Our exports of manufactured articles in recent years have passed the mark of value of \$1,500,000 per working day. Commerce, finance, insurance, shipping, transportation — all these present in-

viting fields for young men of ability and training. Recognition of this fact is found in some of the college statistics. In the first half of the nineteenth century the percentage of Yale graduates in business, as distinguished from the four professions of theology, law, medicine and teaching, was 11 4-9. In the second half of the century the percentage had risen to 23 6-9.

The general outcome of the movement may be summed up as follows: The law during the nineteenth century approximately enlisted one-third of each college generation. At the beginning of the century the ministry followed closely in second place. Roughly speaking, the law and the ministry were then chosen by two-thirds of the class. Nowadays the law still holds its own, but the ministry has fallen off greatly in relative importance; its place has been taken by the merchant's vocation, which now attracts about one-third of the graduates.

It would not be safe to conclude from this that the kind of men who formerly became clergymen now go into business, though this may be true to some extent. In any case, it is clear that the leadership which naturally falls to the college graduate in this country was formerly chiefly exerted from the bar and the pulpit; that nowadays, however, the industrial leaders are also largely recruited from among college graduates; that the typical college graduate of to-day is no longer the scholar, but the man of affairs.

Such a scheme as I have outlined presupposes less attention in the college course to the dead languages, to metaphysics and ancient history, and thus the saving of time for the special studies required for business pursuits. I believe this to be entirely practicable. I believe one-half of the time spent, usually, in the study of Greek and Latin would be ample. I would not abolish the study of the classics, but would curtail such study unless in preparation for an educational career. To a large extent such study could be pursued in the secondary schools preparatory to the college course. With such a rearrangement a four or five years' course, in which the last two years should be devoted to special study bearing on commercial and industrial pursuits, would be a saving of time and more effective in the equipment of the American citizen for the duties and opportunities confronting him to-day.

THE DESIRABILITY OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION FOR RAILROAD WORK

By A. J. COUNTY

Assistant Secretary, Pennsylvania Railroad Company

Modern railroading is indeed a profession, and the science of transportation is one recognized as an essential factor in the progress of this country, and therefore I need make no apology in considering whether a college education is necessary and advantageous to the young man who proposes to engage in railroad work.

The steam railroads of the United States, in providing transportation facilities for eighty millions of people, operate 214,000 miles of railroad, capitalized at over \$13,000,000,000 in bonds and stocks; they carry in a year over 715,000,000 passengers, and over 1,300,000,000 tons of freight, and their gross earnings approximate \$2,000,000,000.

These lines afford employment for about 1,300,000 persons, to whom \$850,000,000 are annually paid in salaries and wages. Of this large working body 5,165 are considered as the higher or general officers, and 5,500 as a second grade of officers. The average annual compensation for the first grade ranges from \$4,500 upwards, and for the second grade from about \$2,000 to \$4,000. I will consider only the officers, because I feel sure that the only object a university man can have in entering the railroad service is to reach an official position.

In the race for official positions there are two classes of candidates; first, those who have had a public school education and who have entered the railroad service at an early age without attending college or a university, and second, those who have had the benefit of a college or university training.

There is no doubt that a college graduate has a distinct advantage in that part of the railroad service where purely professional attainments are required, namely, in the civil and mechanical engi-

neering branches, and to-day railroad men desire men who have had a training in the theory of engineering, rather than those who are without it. They recognize that the man who has a good ground work in theory, and some little practical training, received during his college or university course, possesses about the best possible foundation. There is, therefore, no question that in the civil and mechanical engineering branches the college man has a most decided advantage in these days, and this advantage is constantly increasing.

We may admit that the field of civil engineering is now limited to the college trained man, and the field of mechanical engineering is largely becoming so, because modern educational requirements in both branches are increasing. From these two branches most of our railroad officers are taken; for, they have charge of the running of the operating machinery, namely, the transportation or operating department. The general thought is that the men who have been responsible for, and thoroughly acquainted with, the roadbed, yards and facilities, and the men who make, repair and inspect the traffic moving machinery, have the basis from actual knowledge and experience to make capable officers. My belief is that, for young men who do not receive a professional but rather a general college education on broad business lines, good openings to which they may aspire, and which ultimately lead to official positions, are to be found in the Freight and Passenger Traffic Departments, and the Secretary's, Treasury, Accounting, Purchasing and Real Estate Departments of the railroad service. We can even enlarge this field, for often we find that many of the officers connected with the actual movement of the traffic in the Transportation Department may also be embraced in this class.

As an estimate, I would say that at least 50 per cent. of the officers in the railroads would come under the designation of men who may be taken from those trained in the college department or schools of finance and commerce of a university.

College men will not, however, be spoiled with large salaries, or promises of official positions at the start; they must make an inconspicuous beginning, and grow up with the company. The situation in regard to the employment of college men in these large branches of the service is that many railroad men prefer to take in boys who have only a public school education, but who are willing to do any

work, and allow them to develop by practical experience, learn all the details, and by actual workings of the several departments expand their minds. They will frankly say, we do not want a college, or a university man, because he is generally 21 to 24 years of age, has ideas of his own, and very often is entirely inexperienced in the transaction of business matters compared with the young man who has come from a public school and grown up in the service.

On the other hand, college men start with high ideals and ideas, and it is fortunate that they do, but at their age they expect much higher salaries than the other class of men, they do not desire to perform what they may term menial or under-dog work (of which there is a large part at the beginning of every railroad career), and they have other motives which do not always commend them to a man struggling with a busy office. The principal objection to a college man is that he does not know the organization, or the officers, and he has no means of quickly but definitely obtaining and communicating the ideas of the head of the department. In other words, he is not possessed of those faculties which, from the beginning of his connection, relieve the head of the department of details; but, on the contrary, is rather a hindrance to him, while the boy from the public school has served his apprenticeship by first taking instructions from other clerks or a chief clerk, has a general knowledge of the organization, knows all of the minor details, and is prepared to consider a higher class of work.

College men are, therefore, taken with a grain of salt, not because they are inferior, for, on the contrary, they may be good men of sound minds, but they are pretty much like that useful article known as a frying pan without a handle, wherein it is possible to melt good fat and prepare a solid meal, but without the handle it is difficult to make prompt and practical use of it, and burnt fingers are the result.

I believe that the average college man will not at first find the railroad service a very attractive field, nor will the railroad official consider him a very attractive "find," until both understand each other better. The railroad man should realize that the college man has, or ought to have, a better developed mind and body and be trained to co-operate with others in obtaining results, and secondly, the college man must appreciate the necessity of getting down to business. Furthermore, the college man should know that as a

means of bringing himself into closer relations with the head of the department a knowledge of stenography, and indeed of typewriting, is absolutely indispensable, and to this we should add the comprehension of a good system for filing and handling correspondence. The college man, if he would become a general railroad man, not only requires a good general education, a strong body and a healthy mind, but he should in addition have a practical knowledge of stenography, which is a very important adjunct to either a student, or a worker, immediately placing him in touch with the head of his department giving him an opportunity of ascertaining the latter's ideas, and in a short time a comprehensive knowledge of the business.

University educators will at once object to the inclusion in a classical curriculum of such an indispensable study as shorthand, because they may rightly claim that this is a knowledge which can be imparted in any business college; but the advantage of the study to students even in their university work and its great influence in advancing the education of young men is one that must not be overlooked, especially in these days when so many men attending a university are not there solely for a classical education but rather to be fitted to earn a livelihood. To this it would be essential to add studies in transportation, commerce, rates and traffic, corporation, finance, economics, real estate, money and credit, accounting, physical and commercial geography, business law, banking, industrial management, the marketing of products and, of course, these studies should be based upon a good knowledge of English. To them should be added a general understanding of the history, the laws and government of the country and of the State in which they seek employment.

I do not believe that a man should acquire, or could in this way acquire, such a knowledge of banking as will enable him to become the President, or even the Cashier, of an institution, or enough of rates and traffic to become a Traffic Manager, but these subjects will broaden his mind, and make him so receptive of ideas as to fit him in time to render most valuable assistance to a responsible official in carrying on the serious business of railroad work. Such a wide field is indispensable, in my judgment, to a successful railroad career. Upon this foundation it will be his every day work to build a superstructure of practical knowledge. Such a young man in time should

be considered in a class far beyond the boy who has received only an ordinary school education, and who having necessarily been restricted to a single line of work in a special office, knows no other. This latter might have been a virtue in the infancy of railroads, but nowadays an all-around knowledge of railroad problems is essential. It is not possible to make a good railroad Purchasing Agent without some idea of market conditions and the marketing of products, nor is it possible to make a good railroad officer out of a man who takes no thought of transportation and traffic problems in their relation to the public as well as to his own company, nor is it possible to make a successful General Manager without the amount of broad training as a ground work which his title indicates.

These men are loaded with heavy responsibilities, for it must be remembered that they have a duty to perform to the National and State governments, to their own stockholders, to the public and to the employees, so that these broad lines place railroading beyond the category of a mere occupation, and it must be truthfully termed a profession.

It has not produced many millionaires, but it offers steady employment at reasonable rates of remuneration, and there comes after years of hard work to the intelligent, earnest and capable man the hope that he will reach a position of responsibility, and of corresponding remuneration, to reward him for his struggle.

Railroad men have many opportunities of seeing a larger share of life than men in many other professions, and as a rule their associations are most pleasant and beneficial. The standard of ability in railroading is steadily rising, and a young man who enters the profession must be genuine gold to stand the trial and finally succeed.

I hope that the day is close at hand when young men, who have received training in the subjects I have just mentioned, will receive greater recognition from railroad employing officers, so that at least a larger percentage of them will, after leaving the colleges and universities, find their way into the railway service, and after practical experience will add to the number of progressive men in charge of those railroad departments in which a technical knowledge of the working machinery is not so essential as in the engineering branches.

I have such a high regard for the progress of American Railways that, when the colleges and universities have done their part in training men in commerce, finance and accounting schools, I feel

assured they will open the path to utilize such graduates. I also think that it would be a distinct advantage to every railway service if its present officers could add to their practical experience the essence of the courses I have named, placed in such shape that they could obtain the benefits therefrom. At present this is an exceedingly difficult matter with men who have their every moment filled with the realities of every day work and responsibility.

I do not in any way desire to reflect upon the capabilities of the young men who have not received the advantage of a college education, because under our present social organization it is a necessity, and in many cases a virtue, that at least 80 per cent. of the total number of young men must forego this advantage and work for a livelihood, acquiring knowledge in the daily discharge of their duties and when the day's work is at an end. My intention throughout has been to urge the universities and colleges to train men for railroad careers and to encourage young men to undertake studies as will equip them to be useful from the first day of their contract with any business.

The larger part of the progress made by American Railways to this date has been accomplished by men, who have started at a very early age in the railway service without any technical or professional knowledge of transportation, traffic, financial or accounting requirements, and who have, by handling the details and shouldering the responsibilities, built up the greatest transportation systems of the world. If these men had had the present day educational advantages it is hard to estimate how much greater would have been the corresponding advancement in this notable American profession.

RAILWAY PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION, ITS OBJECTS AND LIMITATIONS¹

By W. M. ACWORTH

Lecturer in London and Liverpool Universities.

Let me say at the outset how much pleasure it gives me to be here to-night. I believe that I was the first person who ever delivered a lecture on a specifically railway subject in an English University. That was, as far as I remember, about 14 years ago, before a University Extension audience at Oxford. About 10 years ago, when the London School of Economics, which since then has become a School of the reorganized London University, was founded, I began to lecture there on Railway Economics, and till this present session I have lectured there ever since. That branch of the work of the School is now, I hope, established on a permanent basis. Birmingham and Manchester have followed suit within the last year or two, and I had the pleasure of speaking only last week in the latter University to an audience of about 200 people, who were apparently interested in a subject which I am bound to say did not fall quite strictly within the definition of what the Germans call *Brodstudien*. Now I am glad to see that, in this great city of Liverpool, a city which, more than perhaps any town of its size in the whole world, exists by and for transport, you too have gone and done likewise, and established a series of courses for railway men. Though in this case you cannot make your usual proud boast that, what Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow, yet I heartily congratulate you on what you are now doing, and I trust that the Railway School of the Liverpool University will go far and fare well.

One other word of preface. Those who have done me the honour of asking me to come here to-night to address you, have, I trust, done so in full consciousness of the fact that, though I am deeply interested in the subject, I am only entitled to speak to you

¹ A lecture delivered on November 8, 1905, on the inauguration of courses of railway instruction in the School of Commerce of the University of Liverpool.

as an outsider. I have perhaps thought more and cared more about the question of professional education for railway men than most of those who are professionally concerned in the management of our English railways. But to that class I cannot myself claim to belong. If it is always true that a shoemaker ought to stick to his last, I have no right to be here to-night. Please, therefore, believe that in what I shall say to you I represent no one but myself. If you were to go further and believe that a great deal of what I say would be disavowed and contraverted by not a few representatives of the railway interest, I am not sure whether you would be very far away from the fact.

I have undertaken to speak to you about Railway Professional Education. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to begin by considering whether there is, and if not, whether there ought to be such a thing as a railway profession. What is a profession? We all understand, generally, what we mean when we speak of the profession of the law or of medicine, and refuse to describe cotton broking or ship owning or house building as a profession. We realize that the final object of a doctor or a lawyer is something more than the piling up of figures in a fee book. We take it for granted that a doctor, for instance, will put his time and his expensively acquired knowledge at the disposal of the sick poor, without expectation of personal reward. We do not expect the broker or the house builder to forego his normal profit, even though his customer be on the verge of bankruptcy. Without troubling you with dictionary references, I think I may fairly describe a profession as a calling, the members of which, having received a liberal education, are organized, and given as a rule exclusive privileges, mainly for public advantage, and only secondarily for private gain. That English railway men are prepared to rise to the height implied in the second part of this definition — that they accept the position that their first duty is to serve the public, and that their duty to increase their shareholders' dividends comes only in the second place, I am well assured. But I fear it cannot be said at present in this country, that a liberal education, deliberately directed to making young railway men as capable as may be of performing the responsible duties which will be laid upon them, is a matter of course. Our railway management, like our politics, is essentially amateurish. Railway men, as they grow up to occupy more and more responsible situations, have

to rely on their own mother wit, and on such scraps of guidance from the experience of other times and other countries, as they may be able, in the scant leisure of an over-crowded day, to find time to assimilate. In France, or in Germany, or in the United States, it is not so. In Germany the men who are destined for the highest posts in the railway service, begin with a University education, go on to a post-graduate course in law, and only then, at the age of perhaps 24 or 25, begin to specialize in railway subjects proper. In France and in America, a degree in engineering is normally superimposed on a general liberal education up to the age of 19. In other words, in all three countries, it is assumed that the man who is to bear the responsibility of the management of a great railway organization, must be, first and foremost, a highly educated citizen, trained with special reference to his future career, and only secondarily a specialist in railway matters.

Now I am not going to argue this evening that the foreigners are right. That you and I are here this evening, not in a Board School or in a Public Hall, but in the University of Liverpool, seems to me to admit, as far as we are concerned, that specific railway education must be superimposed on a liberal general education. The questions I wish to invite you to consider are, what the ideal professional education should be, how it is to be given, and to whom. Let me deal with the last point first. A railway is a vast and wide-reaching organism. It employs services of all kinds; but the fact that a man is employed on a railway does not necessarily make him a railway man in the sense with which I am concerned. A railway solicitor is first and foremost a lawyer. The technical knowledge required in taking compulsorily land for a railway is only in details different from the knowledge required to take land for a dock or a water-works undertaking. Prosecuting a man for travelling without a ticket, or being drunk and disorderly on a station, is nothing else but ordinary police court work. An engineer, in so far as he confines himself to building and maintaining bridges, or constructing locomotives and carriages, is no more a member of the railway profession, as I conceive it, than a surgical instrument maker is a doctor, or a printer of Hebrew books a theologian. The man whose education we are concerned with is the potential general manager.

This, of course, rules out the vast bulk of the railway staff. Of the 540,000 men employed on the railways of this country, not many

will ever rise to be general manager. Far be it from me to say anything against systematic instruction in subjects, such as, for instance, signalling or goods invoicing. I only wish to point out that this is technical instruction in a particular trade, not professional instruction such as is required to enable a captain of industry to co-ordinate the work of many trades. Let me say another thing. There are not many general manager's posts, and there never will be, but I only say what many of my railway friends, with better opportunities than I of knowing, think, when I say that, few as the posts are, the men to fill them are even fewer, and the posts of the kind I speak of, not exactly as general managers, but as members of what I may call the headquarters' staff, would even now be more numerous than they are, if it were not for the obvious dearth of candidates qualified by all-round capacity to fill them.

Let us consider then, what should be the training for our ideal general manager. His business, as it seems to me, divides itself into three main categories. In the first place, he stands before the public and the Government departments as the representative of the great organization which we call a railway. In the second place, he is at the head of a great commercial undertaking, gathering in a revenue of five or ten or fifteen millions per annum, by supplying to the public, mainly in retail quantities, the service of transport — a service which, while to him it is mainly one and indivisible appears to them as a vast number of separate and independent units. Lastly, he is the head of a staff of tens of thousands of persons engaged in the multifarious ramifications of the supply of the service which the public require, and is responsible for the vast stock of plant, appliances and material, employed in connection with the rendering of those services. And in this capacity he has to consider, at one moment, the question of the rates of pay and conditions of service of train men or station staff; at another moment, whether larger engines will cost more in permanent way expenses than they save in haulage; or again whether an increase of speed will bring in, in increased receipts, more or less than it causes in increased expenditure.

If this be the general manager's position, what should be the training of what the Germans call the aspirant for it? First, he must know something of political history. He must have a general idea what the relation of the State to private industry and semi-public industries is at present, and has been in the past — an idea,

I mean, such as is given in, for instance, Lord Farrer's book on "The State in Relation to Trade." The constitution of a country, certainly of an Anglo-Saxon country, broadens down slowly from precedent to precedent, and no one, unless he knows the present and the past, is likely to be able to gauge correctly the tendencies of future legislation dealing with the regulation or control of railways. Further, our capacity for generalizing profitably on a subject, and especially on a subject like railways, whose whole history only goes back two generations, is greatly increased, if we check our English ideas by a competent knowledge of what has happened and is happening in foreign countries. All the problems that confront us here and now in England, the question of favoring the foreigner, of giving special rates to encourage agriculture, of preserving to each place what is called "the natural advantage of its geographical situation" — all these questions have a long history and a voluminous literature in foreign countries. Our general managers will be better qualified to deal with them as practical questions in England to-day, if they study — our legislature would have gone less far astray in their Acts of Parliament in the past, if they had studied — the accumulated foreign experience on these points. Here is one topic eminently suitable as a subject for University teaching.

But in addition to what I may call constitutional practice and constitutional law, there is a great body of other law with which the railway manager is intimately concerned. His railway, as a company, is a creature of statute. Its corporate organization, its power to take lands, its relation to the outside public, who meet it, now as adjoining landowners, now as supplying the multifarious articles that it needs to purchase, its rights and liabilities as carrier of goods and passengers, and as an employer — all these, and many more, are subjects that must constantly come under the purview of the manager, and they are certainly subjects on which a reasonable amount of legal knowledge, and a legal attitude of mind, will be of the utmost service. I do not suggest that a manager ought to be a lawyer, though, as I have said, the great bulk of the managers of the German State Railways are lawyers. Still less do I suggest that the manager should concern himself with the detailed work of the solicitor's department. But I do say that the ideal general manager will be a better all-round man if he has imbibed all the legal knowledge that he can possibly find time for.

So far, however, we have only considered one side of his activities. He is secondly, as I said, the head of the commercial organization. Rule-of-thumb rates were all very well in the early days of railroading. In the early days the great thing was to get a reduced rate. Why reduced, and on what principle, nobody cared, as long as it was reduced. But nowadays, when the world has become a single commercial unit, when the imposition of a 2s. duty on corn in England reacts on the railway rates in the far North-West of America, the really vital question is not the quantum of the rate *per se*, but the right relation of the rates *inter se*. If there be anywhere in applied economics a more difficult question than what is an undue preference — speaking, of course, not legally, but economically — I, for one, do not know of it. But how is a manager to decide whether a given rate, or a proposed alteration of rate, is economically justifiable, unless he has some economic generalizations on which to act? Not very long ago, after I had been lecturing on the subject of “What the Traffic Will Bear” at the London School of Economics, a student came to me and said in effect: “What you have been saying is extremely interesting to me. I often have to defend to our customers rates that we are charging. From the railway point of view, I knew I could justify them on the ground of what the traffic would bear; but it never occurred to me that we could defend, from the point of view of the public, the application of this principle.” But in a democratic country, where, in the long run, the most despotic of general managers has to bow to public opinion, how can he defend a rate to the public unless he knows that it is, and how it is, defensible as an economically sound public policy?

I submit, therefore, that our general managers of the future must find time to study the theory of railway rates, must know the history of tariffs and tariff legislation not only in our own but in foreign countries. They must not only feel persuaded that their scheme of rates and fares is reasonable, but they must be prepared to show why they are reasonable and to prove, both by argument and history, that the course which they have adopted is reasonable, and that an alternative course suggested, though it may be more profitable to a particular class or a particular interest, would be less advantageous to the interests of the public as a whole.

Lastly, we have to regard the manager as head of the staff, and

of the operating organization generally. No academic instruction can, I fear, teach the management of men; partly this comes by practice, but mainly it is inborn. But even here a manager would be better equipped for his duties if he had devoted some study to subjects such as, for instance, the organization of trades unions, and methods of industrial remuneration. But leaving out these matters, there is, I think, a great deal that can be learned academically in reference to railway operation. A book like Wellington's "Economics of Railway Location" raises a whole group of questions, any one of which might be a subject, not of a lecture, but of a course, or series of courses. Let me take one or two illustrations. You may carry your traffic between Liverpool and Scotland, either by climbing over the top of Shap Fell, or by tunnelling underneath it. In the former case, you spend more for every ton you carry in engine hire and in wages, and you diminish the carrying capacity of the whole line by a reduction in the speed of your slowest trains. In the latter case, you fasten to all time round the neck of the traffic, the dead weight of the interest implied by the extra cost of the tunnel. Which alternative is to be preferred in any given case, depends, of course, on the special circumstances of the anticipated traffic, its volume, its character, its effective demand for speed and so forth. The problem can, however, be worked out with these factors assumed at any point you like. And the man who has worked out such problems in an academic course is much more likely to arrive at the correct solution, when an individual case is brought before him in practice, than the man who begins *de novo* to deal with the particular instance. Take another instance. Two railway companies, entering London under what appear to an outside observer almost identical conditions, have adopted diametrically opposed principles in the matter of suburban traffic. The one refuses to cater for it altogether; the other has spent millions for its accommodation. Now I do not of course wish to say that either company is right or wrong. But I cannot help thinking that, if one is right, the other is wrong; and I feel pretty sure that neither company has ever justified its policy to itself by anything beyond general impressions. I believe a question of this kind is quite capable of definite scientific treatment. So many acres of land, naturally tributary to a given terminus, can accommodate such and such a population, and that population may be expected to pay so many pounds in fares. To

carry the estimated number of passengers would require so much capital for land and works, so much annual expenditure for operation. With these figures worked out carefully and systematically — not as rough guesses on a half-sheet of paper — the question, whether or no to adopt an extension policy, answers itself. I do not think I am misrepresenting English railway management when I say that, while such detailed estimates would be made, as a matter of course, in any Continental country, they have not been usual in this country in the past.

One point more. There has been a great talk in England of late on the subject of railway statistics. That English railways publish the most meagre statistics of any country in the world — that even the statistics they do publish are mainly worthless, because of their inaccuracy, and, if I may coin a word, because of their incomparability, will hardly be denied. But we are told that the statistics compiled are much more voluminous than the statistics published. I should be the last person to deny it, for I expect I have waded through more cubic feet of private and confidential statistics than most people outside the railway service. But even admitting the voluminousness of our English railway statistics, I would make two observations. In the first place, they are largely useless to anybody, because they are unsystematic and discontinuous. In the second place, so long as they remain "private and confidential," they are absolutely useless to everybody except the very limited number of persons who are allowed access to them. Assume — and it is a very generous assumption — that to every employee of Company A there are available adequate and scientifically compiled statistics of everything on his own line capable of statistical treatment, even so he will learn from them not half what he might learn, so long as the statistics of Companies B, C, D are not available to him for purposes of comparison. Whatever else our aspirant general manager is not to learn, he must in the future have access to full, scientifically compiled and public statistics of every railway in the country, and he must be taught by trained statisticians how to read them and how to manipulate them so as to extract from them, from time to time, the lessons that they are capable of affording him.

Now, I think, I have sketched the main subjects which, as it seems to me, the Railway Admirable Crichton will require to master. I may be told, no doubt, that time is inexorable, and that I

am asking for more than can possibly be attained in practice. I think not. I think that a man intended for the railway profession could master in a year enough economics, not to become an economist, but to appreciate the bearing of economics upon railway problems; enough politics and law in another year, not to become a statesman or a lawyer, but to understand how railways fit into their place in the general body politic; while I am sure that in a third year he could learn enough engineering to be able to understand, and intelligently criticize, the advice of his engineering experts. I would add further, that, whereas, the complete curriculum I have imagined would be taken by comparatively few men, the different courses would be available and profitable to men intending to devote themselves to other careers. The courses of applied engineering would interest those intended for the engineering profession. Railway law must be to many lawyers an important branch of their own profession; while I can hardly imagine any instruction more useful for our future captains of industry than a course on the Economics and Statistics of Transport. That persons outside the railway world should attend these latter courses, is, I am sure, eminently desirable in the public interest. For, while our railway companies need criticism, the criticism to which they are at present exposed, both in the press and in Parliament, is so wrong-headed, and so ill-informed, that one cannot be surprised if they come in consequence to treat all criticism with the contempt that, in the main, it richly deserves.

How then are railway men to obtain a specialized railway education such as I have suggested? First and foremost, no doubt, by academic instruction. And here one is met at the outset by the knowledge that, however plentiful the harvest may be, the laborers are exceedingly few. English lawyers proverbially pay scant attention to the science of law, and prefer to devote themselves to the practice. How far that is the case with engineering I am not prepared to say. But, if there be any English economist of standing who has devoted any serious attention to the economics of transport, who on that subject is entitled to be listened to alongside of Hadley and Taussig in America, or Colson in France, or Uhlrich and Sax and Cohn in Germany, I confess I have not heard of him. Still, I hope that the demand will ere long stimulate the supply. Meanwhile we must do as best we can, and hope that one at least

of the newer Universities will develop specially on this side. For, while lectures in what I have called railway technical education must of necessity be given locally in the various great centers, there is no reason why those who intend to go in for a complete course of professional education should not all go to a single University, just as men who propose to devote themselves to the higher mathematics naturally tend now to the University of Cambridge.

I have spoken of the need for teachers. The need for books is even more crying. There are plenty of railway books indeed in existence, but the bulk of them are written in French and German, while of those written in English almost all come from America, and presuppose, if they are to be really profitable to a student, a familiar acquaintance with an environment that in the nature of things is strange to an Englishman. I am glad to know that a colleague of mine at the London School of Economics is at present lecturing on the Economics of Railway Location, and I hope, without much expecting, that some day his lectures will be published in permanent form. Meanwhile, is it too much to ask that some one would translate into English some of the foreign works? One of the leading economists in Germany, Professor Gustav Cohn of Göttingen, has devoted years of his life to a study of English railways. Is it too much to ask that some student will, with the encouragement of his University, publish a translation into English of his *Englische Eisenbahnpolitik*? Within the last two or three years a pupil of Professor Cohn's spent many weeks in Lancashire studying the history of the Manchester Ship Canal, and published in the *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen* an elaborate monograph embodying his researches and conclusions. Is it too much to ask that some student, either in Liverpool or Manchester, should translate it?²

But, in a modern and rapidly developing subject like railways, professors and books alike are bound to get rapidly out of date. They need to be supplemented by adequate professional periodical literature. It is difficult to imagine the other professions getting on without the *Lancet* and the *Law Times* and similar publications, issued week by week or month by month, and keeping the practitioner constantly abreast of the newest developments in his pro-

² Since this lecture was delivered I have been told that the monograph on the Ship Canal has been translated by a railroad clerk. But it remains in MS. and is, I doubt not, marked "private and confidential."—W. M. A.

fession. The want is recognized and met in the railway profession in other countries. It is not so here. Latterly the *Railroad Gazette*, perhaps the most able and influential publication of its kind in the world, has established an English offshoot, the RAILWAY GAZETTE. Everyone who cares for railroad education must wish it success, but as far as I can see, it is likely to be confronted with three difficulties. In the first place, as English railway men are ardent worshippers of the great goddess Rule-of-Thumb, and in the main disbelieve in the scientific study of their profession, it has comparatively few readers. In the second place, as it cannot publish private and confidential information, and all English information, except the Time Tables, is private and confidential, there is a lack of matter. And in the third place, as no man can make bricks without straw, there is a lack of writers. I hope and believe, however, that this difficulty is coming to an end, and that there is a concurrent development going on — steady, if not rapid — under all three heads — of readers, writers and matter.

Equally important with the development of an adequate professional press is the establishment of railway professional institutions, whether they be called Clubs as in America, Unions as in France and Germany, or Institutes or Societies, as other similar professional bodies are here. At present there are, at the Railway Clearing House, meetings held periodically of the chiefs of the various Departments of practical railway work, the Goods Managers, the Superintendents, the Locomotive Engineers, and so forth. But these meetings are confined to a single representative of each company, they deal only with matter of immediate practical interest, and needless to say, their proceedings are "private and confidential." For educational purposes they are absolutely valueless. What we want is meetings for the reading of papers and discussion, where the keen-witted and ambitious young man, freed for once from the restraint of the deference due in his office hours to his superior officer, can ventilate his own ideas of possible improvement, and learn by open discussion how to distinguish between the theoretically desirable and the practically possible. Let me give one instance of what I mean. In the course of the last few years I have read, I suppose, more than a dozen reports by railway men on their visits to American Railways. Each of them might have furnished an admirable text for an evening's debate, and if published, as they might

have been, in the proceedings of some Railroad Club, would have been a source of information and instruction to railway men all over the country. In the whole dozen I do not suppose there was a page that might not perfectly well have been cried from the housetop, but one and all they were labelled "private and confidential," and now they are duly pigeon-holed and accumulating dust in the various railway offices.

Let me mention one thing more. Except at the top, railway work is very badly paid, and young railway men cannot, as a rule, afford to buy many books, even if they did, which they usually do not, know the names of them. Yet I doubt if in all England there is a single library with as much as 100 volumes on railway subjects, assembled and catalogued together for convenient reference. After all, to a big institution, books are comparatively a small item of expenditure. Is it too much to ask that everywhere in England where railway lectures are given, there should be formed the nucleus of a working railway library, containing, not only books, but the principal professional journals of at least France, Germany and America, and that somewhere in England there should be one railway library, worthy to rank with that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, or the Leland Stanford University in America, or of the Ministry of Public Works in Prussia?

Lest my practical railway friends should accuse me of thinking that railway managers can be manufactured in class rooms and libraries, let me add one word more. I am far from suggesting that a curriculum such as I have sketched, even supplemented by opportunities for social instruction such as I have asked for, would, in itself, suffice to turn out practical railway managers. After all, practical experience is the best school, and for my own part I would be ready to acknowledge that I have learned as much about railway business in good sheds and shunting yards, as from all the books I have ever read. If life were long enough, if experience could be wide enough, a man might perhaps be left to work out his generalizations for himself solely from his own experience. But life is short, the railway business is vast, and its ramifications almost indefinitely far-reaching. No man can, in practice, know the work of all its departments of his own first-hand knowledge. The ordinary railway man, so far from being permitted to range at will through every department and collect his honey from every flower,

grows up and continues till middle age in a corner of a sub-department. He cannot have—in the nature of things it is impossible for him to have—a grasp of railway business as a whole. He must get, with the help of systematic professional instruction, his generalizations on the work of departments other than his own done for him. It is not as good as if he could do them for himself, but it is better for him than not to get them done at all.

England discovered railways, and for the first 40 years or so of railway history, the English railways unquestionably were a model to the world. We have lost that pre-eminence. In later years foreign observers have gone for their lessons, not to England, but to the United States. Quite recently, and not unreluctantly, our own railwaymen have done the same. This is no accident; it was inevitable in the nature of things. So long as railway management was pure empiricism, the self-reliance and the hereditary business capacity of Englishmen kept them in front. But empiricism is no more a match for trained scientific methods than the superb courage of the Mahdi's troops was a match for discipline and breechloaders. The Americans appreciated the advantages of a professionally trained staff, with adequate statistics and scientific methods, a dozen years ago. A dispassionate observer, who knew the situation in the two countries, could have as safely prophesied that the American railways would ere long surpass ours in efficiency and economy, as a trained soldier with access to all the facts, could have foretold the defeat of Russia by Japan. Fortunately for us, in this field of contest, the success of America does not imply the defeat of England. We have been beaten, not by superiority of men, but by superiority of methods. We have got the men. For my own part with no reflection on America, and with nothing but gratitude for all it has taught me, I am prepared to say our men are splendid. But in the absence of adequate professional education, it is impossible that they should do themselves justice. Let us hope, and we are entitled to hope, that the Railway School of the University of Liverpool, inaugurated to-night, will take a leading part in helping the rising generation to show all that they are capable of.

PUBLICITY AND REFORM IN BUSINESS

BY HENRY CLEWS OF NEW YORK

We live in a progressive age, and we are at present passing through a period of salutary business reform. This reform means improvement; and business men of all kinds should help and not retard it. The banking, railway and insurance communities should, in particular, do all they can to promote it, and invite the fullest publicity as to their transactions and methods of doing business. In this connection the opposition developed in the New York Legislature to the investigations of the banks was a mistake of judgment, because it was calculated to excite distrust, whereas willingness to submit to thorough investigation would allay it.

This opposition drew more public attention to the agitation for a general bank department examination than would otherwise have been attracted to it, and the unwillingness to submit to it suggested that there was a screw loose, or something to conceal in connection with some of the State banks; and that they were therefore vulnerable to attack, or at least open to criticism. This suspicion those concerned should have avoided by not only boldly facing the legislative music, but inviting it and leaving everything open and above board. Corporations and banking and mercantile firms that become at all objects of suspicion should, in their own interests, speedily clear themselves by inviting the fullest examination and publicity. Unsoundness and irregularity, if such existed, would thus be exposed and weeded out, instead of being nursed in secret, and so doing harm and impairing confidence in corporations and firms perfectly sound and regular in their methods and practices. The sound concerns would stand better than ever after passing through this ordeal of publicity. The New York Legislature, as well as the Legislatures of the other States, should respond to the popular agitation for publicity by passing laws requiring all corporations, including banks and trust companies, to make at least semi-annual reports of their condition, certified to by registered public accountants, with power vested in the State Superintendents to order special

examinations by such accountants, at any time, when deemed necessary; that is, whenever they were suspected of being unsound or irregular in their business methods. This should be done for the protection of others as well as to clear them of suspicion and restore their credit, if found to be sound and straight. Only the insolvent and the crooked would have anything to fear from this wholesome publicity.

In this way disaster might be averted and impaired confidence promptly restored. I lay stress upon the employment of skilled accountants because the certified results of their examinations would be accepted as conclusive of the actual conditions being as they stated and described. They would speak with authority. It should be made a felony for an accountant to make a false or misleading report, and he should ever after be disqualified from practising as such.

To meet the growing demand for them, every college and university should have a department for the special training of accountants, who on graduating should receive a diploma or degree, as in the medical or legal profession. Already the position held by certified accountants is high, but it should be raised still more by the action of the universities and colleges. Some of these have established departments for accountants, where the students undergo thorough training by men who have had practical experience in the profession, but all institutions of learning ought to have them and maintain them in a high state of efficiency in view of their importance to the business community. The opposition to publicity shown by the New York State banking interest, as represented in the Legislature, has been supported by some of the small life insurance interests, as in New Jersey, where it has choked off probing, and they have aroused fresh suspicions, and much adverse criticism thereby. Such inside irregularities as were not brought to light by the Legislative Committee's investigation they are apparently disposed to hide, and they object to being controlled by the legislative enactments proposed by this capital committee. It is not surprising that many are led to suspect that there is much still concealed that ought to be revealed.

This desire for secrecy is obviously in defiance of public sentiment, and the Legislature should make the house-cleaning thorough, while it is about it. If it does less, it will fail in its duty to the

policyholders and the people. In particular, it should place a ban upon excessive salaries. They are unjust to the companies and demoralizing to the recipients.

It is indeed very surprising under the circumstances that the officers and trustees of the great life insurance companies should have supposed that anything short of complete cleansing and purification would satisfy their policyholders and the public. Their attitude resulted in an open rupture in the investigating committee of one of the large companies and the resignation of one of its most prominent members.

The bankers of the country are, more or less, intimately concerned in seeing this Augean insurance stable thoroughly cleaned out, for, unless it is, distrust will linger, and the life insurance taint, will, more or less, continue to extend to the banks, bankers, bond dealers and trust companies, with which the life insurance companies necessarily have to do business.

For the banking interests to virtually ignore the past, and say to the life insurance companies, "Go, and sin no more," would be pusillanimously evading the requirements of the situation. The cloud that drifted over Wall street from the insurance investigation must be entirely dispersed by the fullest investigation and publicity, and the establishment of a new régime in insurance management and its banking methods and affiliations.

It is the duty of life insurance trustees to co-operate to this end, and for them to refuse to do so is to imply consciousness of their own inability to stand the searching ordeal. If such there be, owing to their purchases or sales of securities, in connection with their respective companies, or any other doings that cannot bear the light or are open to criticism, they should be ventilated, and exposed, without fear or favor.

The effort to smother further life insurance investigation, which had its counterpart in the opposition to the proposed banking department investigation, should be frowned down by public opinion, both in the interests of morality and good business practices. The banks and the banker should, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion and not less so the life insurance manager and trustee.

Turning to the railways, we find the need of stricter laws in matters that favor a few at the expense of the many, as, for instance, in the giving of rebates. To prevent these, not a mere fine,

which can be easily paid, should be imposed, but the offense should be made a misdemeanor, punishable with imprisonment. Railway officials would then, with the danger of an indictment, and a term in prison before them, hesitate to violate the law. For their own reputation, as well as for the sake of their families, they would be likely to avoid that secret and unlawful rate cutting, disguised by the payment of rebates, which has done so much in the past to foster unholy monopolies, and crush competition, to the ruin of thousands.

In the lime-light of publicity the irregular rebate practices of the railways, for the benefit of large and favored shippers, would be impossible; and equally so would have been the go-as-you please and extravagant management of the life insurance companies as revealed by the insurance investigation. Under the new order of things, regulated by stricter laws, it should be made impossible for these irregularities ever to occur. The death-knell should also be sounded by these stricter laws and reforms of much of the "Graft" that has been epidemic in political and business life. Publicity of accounts would be a protection to all solvent concerns and expose and eliminate the unsound and the fraudulent, that would otherwise be a menace to them, and it should be welcomed by all who have nothing to fear from such publicity.

We are passing through a reform — yea, a revolutionary period in business affairs. But good will come out of it, for with our improved business methods will come a higher sense of responsibility and a keener perception of duty, which cannot fail to inspire correspondingly greater confidence and produce more certain results. We shall thus have more conservatism in business and fewer speculative hazards and crookedness than before.

Therefore, let the march of reform be unimpeded, for it will lead us to a higher financial and commercial eminence than even that on which we already stand, and hasten the time when this country will be the world's greatest financial and commercial center.

It would seem that many need more conservatism and prudence in their business ventures, and they would be the better for having the lime-light of publicity thrown on them. When the sky rockets of the business world fall, they are not the only sufferers, for they injure others who are perfectly sound and conservative, by creating distrust of all.

The accounting and publicity I advocate would expose, check and prevent the irregularities and the one-man power abuses that have ended in so many collapses. The one-man control of large corporations must come to an end. An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure.

Corporations, too, should show that they have souls by not neglecting the welfare of their employees. They should promote their health by giving them healthy surroundings where they work, and also by making graduated provision for old age service, or pensions in case of disability, after long service. This, or giving them a share in the profits of the business, would do much to narrow the gulf between labor and capital.

The one-man power in large corporations with a lot of dummy directors subservient to it, should also come to an end. Dummy directors are no better than so many decoy ducks that mislead the public. They are directors who do not direct and are not expected to direct by those in control who selected them for election. They are consequently a false pretence. No man ought to accept a place as director or trustee of an institution, or corporation, particularly a banking, railway, industrial or life insurance company, who does not fully appreciate the responsibility of the position and the care and vigilance it demands, and intend to faithfully and conscientiously perform its duties. To intentionally become a dummy director is reprehensible, and directors in dealing with the officers of their corporations should have opinions of their own and not be afraid to express them. They are not alone responsible for their own errors or wrongful acts, but for failure to expose and put a stop to the wrong-doing of the officers or employees under their control, and they should not assume such duties when they cannot properly attend to them.

I once knew a man of very great business renown who during the last thirty years of his life was much sought after because he possessed the qualifications necessary to make him a most satisfactory dummy or dumb director. Hence he was connected with a very large number of companies. He was a man of wealth, retired from business and had great capacity, but it was of the *avouirdupois* kind. His chief qualification consisted in his always attending punctually all the meetings. He came early and staid till the end. He watched closely to determine which way the majority vote was

going and always went with it. He was never known to open his mouth, except when the luncheon was served after the directors' meeting had adjourned. He was much lamented by corporation managers when he died. He was their favorite director on the ground, as claimed, he gave no trouble and was perfectly satisfied with the result of every meeting, when he was handed his five-dollar gold piece for attendance which caused him to go home rejoicing. I cite him as a specimen brick among dumb and dummy directors.

Directors should make it their business to learn all that is going on in the corporations and institutions that they direct, so that they may qualify themselves to act intelligently, instead of in a blind-folded way, as is too commonly the case. They should assert their rights, and direct in fact as well as in name, but, of course, necessarily leaving all the details to the officers. They too should avoid grinding axes of their own at the expense of their companies, and co-operate with both State and Federal officials in the strict observance and enforcement of the laws, and never connive or wink at their evasion.

All these influences for the better would promote public confidence in our ways of doing business, and indirectly also contribute to the stability of our monetary position. What we more greatly need is a more stable money market in Wall Street. Such erratic changes in the rates for stock exchange loans as we sometimes see would create a convulsion in Europe; if they were possible there. But as they are not possible there, why should they be here? We are destined to ultimately become the monetary center of the world, but that cannot be till we acquire the stability of the old world in interest rates.

A freak money market jumping up to absurdly high rates and then down again is as dangerous as it is intolerable. It is inimical to the proper transaction of legitimate business, and a disturbing factor that should be made as impossible in New York as it is in London, Paris or Berlin. What we need, among other things, to prevent it is more care and conservatism in banking circles. In the European money centers the rates for money rise and fall in response to supply and demand, just as they do here, but within narrow limits beyond which they never pass. There is no good reason why it should not be so with us.

It is to be hoped that the eminently well qualified members of the Committee appointed by the New York Chamber of Commerce—consisting of Messrs. Vanderlip, Conant, Straus, Claflin, Clark and Johnson—will reach a solution of the problem of the money market, and define how far its vagaries and irregularities are owing to a want of sufficient currency, capital or credit, or sudden and excessive demands for loans, consequent on excessive activity in speculation, or unwillingness to lend in times of distrust and panic.

In European countries monetary stability can always be relied upon; and that element of stability, which our money market now lacks, must exist here before we can command the confidence of the world as the world's financial center. But we are now rapidly taking steps in the right direction, and the reform movement in business and legislation can come none too soon for our national welfare. Let the good work of reform go on and prosper, for from it we shall reap an abundant harvest in the future.

There was no good and sufficiently sound reason why money, on call, should have been loaned in Wall Street at rates ranging from 100 to 125 per cent. per annum—as it was in December last when in other cities all over the country it loaned no higher than six per cent. These money spasms, while local in their actual effect, exert a disturbing and demoralizing moral influence, which is far reaching. Such pernicious activity in the money market is not natural. It is due to artificial causes and ill-regulated methods affecting our local supply and demand.

For the rates of interest to be leaping wildly up and down, in the loan crowd of the stock exchange, and changing violently every few moments, according to the shifting bids and offers of the excited borrowers and lenders, would seem to be absurd and laughable enough for opera bouffe. But in the banking and stock exchange business it is a serious evil, involving large results.

Such an abnormal money market is, of course, not very often seen, but it occurs often enough to make it important for us to study its causes and seek a remedy for such monetary excesses. It is indeed a topic so serious as to call for the gravest consideration. Yet neither the stringency nor these minute to minute, or hour to hour, fluctuations were caused by any fluctuation going on in the volume of the currency or any except local influences.

What we have to guard against and prevent are these occasional

spasms. Against the slow general rise and fall of interest rates for money of from, say, 2 to 6 per cent. per annum and vice versa, there is nothing to be said, for the movement is a legitimate one, a natural result of the varying supply and demand. We see it in the old world, as well as the new world, but such rocket-like soarings, and such eccentric ups and downs as Wall Street has experienced from time to time are peculiar to itself. It must, however, outgrow them, and the sooner it does so the better. It is not my purpose in this article to show how the end in view may be best accomplished, but that it should be accomplished within no long time, is certain. The fault is not so much due to the want of elasticity in our currency system as to our local methods of doing business in stocks and lending and borrowing money to carry them.

One thing tending to produce occasional local stringency is that our money market has to contend with the evil effects of the New York Sub-Treasury or rather the Sub-Treasury system, that locks money up that ought to be kept in circulation. Every sub-treasury acts practically as a Government bank, just as the old United States National Bank in Philadelphia did, and takes in all the money it can get, but pays out none, except on Government vouchers. So it does not perform all the functions of a bank, and we should have a more elastic currency if the sub-treasury system were abolished, which it doubtless will be in time. Theoretically, we have no U. S. National Bank, yet practically we have one in every sub-treasury.

In Germany emergency currency may be issued by the banks in times of stringency. This, in effect, releases them from the limit on reserves, just as, in panics, a government order in Council releases the Bank of England from the limit placed on its note issues, and allows it to issue its notes to an unlimited extent. The consequent inflation of the currency under both the German and English systems, and the revival of confidence produced by it, brings relief in the money market.

But our only way of obtaining similar relief is for the Secretary of the Treasury to order treasury deposits to be made in national banks on the security of U. S. bonds, or if he is willing to accept them, first-class state or city bonds, assuming the banks to have the bonds; the Treasury may not always have the money to spare for this purpose, beyond its proper working balance, and at the best it is a make-shift expedient.

That we need a more elastic currency is indisputable, and also such changes in our custom of borrowing and lending money on collaterals, on the stock exchange, as will give us stability in rates of interest there, even in times of stringency. The time will come when the circulation of the national banks will be based on gold, instead of United States bonds, and in that way our monetary system will more closely approach that of the principal European nation. But we need not prepare to cross the bridge until we come to it.

With regard to the other matters referred to, it is always well to strike while the iron is hot, and at present the reform movement in legislation affecting life insurance and banking concerns is at white heat, not only in the State of New York, but elsewhere, and it should be pressed forward until all the results aimed at are secured.

In the first place, to accomplish this the life insurance and bank investigations already in progress, or proposed, should be carried out to the fullest extent, and, through the employment of expert and independent bookkeepers and accountants, made so thorough as to leave nothing hidden or in doubt. The results in detail should then be promptly published, and in a form that all could understand, so that the public would know the plain unvarnished truth. In this way rumors and suspicions of underhand doings, bribery and corruption, graft, fraud, deficiencies in accounts, misappropriation of funds, and concealed insolvency would, if not confirmed, be contradicted and swept away, thus leaving the concerns before under suspicion in all the better credit and standing.

Not only should all this be done now, but the State Legislation should be equally prompt in passing the laws necessary to maintain this high standard of publicity in the future, and making it mandatory upon the Banking and Insurance departments to order frequent examinations into the condition of all State banks and banking and insurance concerns by expert accountants, and publish their findings. All opposition to such investigation and publicity is of itself calculated to excite suspicion whether it comes from banks, trust companies, life insurance officers and trustees, or other concerns, or parties in interest. Industrial and other corporations, of all kinds, including railways, ought also to be made by mandatory laws, subject to stricter supervision and periodical examination as

to their financial condition. Hence the Attorney General of this and other states should be invested with new powers to this end, and the provisions of the laws should be made mandatory upon them. They should call for verified statements of earnings, profits, expenses, capitalization, indebtedness, dividends, property valuations, liabilities and assets so that large corporations would cease to be blind pools, and fraud and misrepresentation would be checked by being exposed; and it is exposure — publicity — which is most dreaded by those who prefer crooked ways to open and above-board business methods and integrity of purpose. But those who have nothing to hide, have much to gain from it, and should welcome the lime-light of this new era of publicity. Secrecy is only the defense of the weak.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Tobacco and Paper Trust cases, that corporations cannot take refuge in secrecy, but must give testimony as to all their transactions, when required, even where it is self-incriminating, is a great victory of the people. It marks the beginning of a new departure in corporate management by enforcing existing laws, and requiring that publicity of accounts, which large industrial, railway and other corporations, and most notably the large industrial trusts, have hitherto so strictly guarded against and avoided, after the blind pool fashion.

The decision is that the law as it stands, giving a witness the constitutional privilege of refusing to give testimony tending to incriminate himself does not extend to or cover his refusal to produce books and papers that would incriminate his, or any other corporation, the immunity being wholly personal. He cannot, therefore, assert it either in behalf of a third person or a corporation, yet strange to say this clear and convincing reasoning has never been put forward by lawyers opposing the trusts. But it will make the way of the corporation transgressor harder in the future.

It opens the door and clears the way for a thorough, complete and public examination of the affairs and accounts of the trusts. It removes the last loophole for their escape from the consequences of their unlawful acts, and from the exposure of their methods of opposing and crushing competitors. They will, therefore, become liable to prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and all

unlawful combinations, schemes and conspiracies will be effectually and permanently broken up.

This decision is of such vast and far reaching importance, not only to all directly concerned, but to the whole country, that its legal effect and its moral influences can hardly be overestimated. It will probably become as famous in the history of the Supreme Court as the Dred Scott decision; and it will prevent in future the miscarriage of justice for want of evidence, against corporations, which has so frequently occurred in the past. It will also raise the moral tone of corporate management by enforcing publicity before refused, for the decision not only applies to all railway and industrial corporations, but banks, trust companies and insurance companies of all kinds. It shows that a rigid enforcement of existing laws is alone necessary to correct many abuses of long standing.

The temptation that secret acts, and secretive general management presents to those disposed to wrongdoing and chicanery, malfeasance, misappropriation and graft can easily be imagined; and it can also be as easily inferred that such management is apt to give rise to suspicions and rumors detrimental to the interest of the corporations concerned, and indirectly injurious to others. Honesty is not only the best policy, but a moral duty, and should be as much the watchword of corporations as of individuals, and no man should betray his trust for either love or money, whether acting in or out of a corporate capacity.

There is more permanent prosperity, as well as honor, to be secured by honest than dishonest means, and to quote the Bible, "what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" Yet unscrupulousness in high places of trust is often forced upon public attention. This should all be swept away as a debasing element in business life, for dishonesty, like the upas tree, casts a blighting influence wherever it is.

The corruption of judges and juries and the bribing of legislators should be more abhorrent than larceny itself to every captain of industry, and all corporate officials should have equal respect for the truth and their own honor. Great wrongdoers should be no more exempt from punishment than small offenders and mere millions should furnish no protection to them.

Great fortunes accumulated by monopoly and oppression, and other dishonest means, are no credit to their possessors, but really

a reproach, and the abuse of power by them is a great national evil. Every business man should take pride not only in his regard for honesty, truth and fair dealing, but in his own personal honor, whether he is acting for a corporation or himself. We are now on the high road to the correction of a multitude of abuses and the country is to be congratulated upon this salutary movement for improvement and reform in our business methods. Our great remedy is PUBLICITY, and the enforcement of the law.

I do not say with the spread-eagle Fourth of July orator —

“No pent-up Utica controls our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours.”

Yet it cannot be ignored that no other nation has such a magnificent career of expansion, development and progress before it as the United States, united as it is by telegraph and telephone and our vast network of railways, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and Maine to Florida, in unbroken continuity.

With the growth of our population, which even now exceeds eighty millions, we shall grow more and more in national importance and wealth, not only in material wealth but in the higher products of an advancing civilization, in the arts and sciences and literature, and all that embellishes and glorifies mankind. Therefore we should, as we go along, constantly endeavor to correct errors, shortcomings and abuses, and prune away rotten and unsound timbers in our public and business life, and make the whole machinery of business and activities of all kinds — trade, banking, insurance, manufacturing, legislative, and the various professions and mechanical industries work as legitimately, honestly, smoothly and harmoniously as possible. The way to this can be best paved by promoting public spirit, and sweeping away the opportunities for business wrongdoing in secret, such as rebating, by wise laws properly enforced, and backed by public opinion, yet laws not oppressive, unjust or too inquisitorial. This would compel the “crooks,” “grafters,” “rebaters” and “competition crushers” of the business world, who have schemed in darkness, and shunned the light, to come out into open view, and this publicity alone would be a perfect cure for many great evils. So let us have more light — the light of PUBLICITY.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Taxation in American Cities

A Symposium

Buffalo.—A. C. RICHARDSON, Buffalo, N. Y.

Cincinnati.—MAX B. MAY, Cincinnati, O.

New Orleans.—JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

Detroit and Grand Rapids.—DELOS F. WILCOX, Secretary Detroit Municipal League.

Milwaukee.—JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wis.

Washington, D. C.—GEORGE S. WILSON, Secretary Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.

Seattle.—PROF. J. ALLEN SMITH, University of Washington, Seattle.

Duluth.—W. G. JOERNS, Duluth, Minn.

Municipal Taxation in Holland.—PROF. H. KIERSCH, Rotterdam, Holland.

BUFFALO

BY A. C. RICHARDSON, Buffalo, N. Y.

The sources of revenue, aside from general taxation, are as follows:

1. The Bureau of Water. Receipts from this source suffice to pay running expenses, principal and interest of water-bonds as they fall due, and a small surplus besides.
2. Local assessments for particular improvements such as sewers, sidewalks and pavements. These are paid by the property benefited.
3. Funds received from the State for the Department of Public Instruction amounting to \$150,000 a year.
4. Fines and fees from Police Department and Municipal Court.
5. License fees from park and other departments.
6. Interest added to taxes for delayed payments.
7. Funds from the State for excise licenses.
8. Interest on bank deposits.
9. Rents from markets and other city property.
10. Franchise taxes and percentages of receipts paid by street railroad and other corporations.

About 64 % of the total revenue is raised from general taxation, the system being as follows:

1. The Assessors compile the assessment rolls on or before Jan. 2 in each year, and these rolls are open for inspection and correction until Jan. 22.

2. Heads of City Departments submit to the Comptroller on or before Feb. 1 of each year detailed estimates of the expenses of their departments for the coming fiscal year (fiscal year commences July 1).

3. The Comptroller revises these estimates, and on or before March 1st presents to the Board of Aldermen an estimate of the amount necessary to be raised by general tax, specifying in detail the amount estimated for each department, and including all the interest of the bonded debt of the city to fall due within the fiscal year and at least \$100,000 to apply on the principal.

4. After the expiration of one week from the date when estimates are presented by the Comptroller, the Board of Aldermen proceed to consider the Comptroller's estimates. By a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected they may alter or amend the same, and must finally pass upon them before March 24.

5. The estimates as passed by the Aldermen then go to the Board of Councilmen, who may alter or amend, and by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected must pass finally upon them before April 15th.

6. Having been adopted by both boards, the estimates go to the Mayor, who at any time before May 1st may disapprove, strike out or reduce any item except that of the \$100,000 to be applied on the principal of the bonded debt. But he cannot *increase* any item.

The estimates of the Comptroller stand as to all items not altered or amended by both Boards or changed by the Mayor. The sum total of the adopted estimates, that is, the total estimated expense less estimated resources, stands as the amount to be raised by general tax.

7. As soon as practicable after the adoption of the estimates the Comptroller "spreads" the taxes upon the taxable property, setting down opposite the respective valuations in the assessment rolls that have been prepared by the Assessors the sum to be paid as a tax, including the *local* assessments that were unpaid May 1st.

8. On the first of June, or as soon thereafter as practicable, the Comptroller delivers the tax rolls to the Treasurer. The latter gives notice to the taxpayers, by publication in the official paper, that the rolls have been received; and payment of taxes can be made without additions any time before the expiration of one month. At the end of one month an addition of one per cent. is made to all unpaid taxes, and one-half of one per cent. each additional month until March 1st, after which he returns to the Comptroller a list of all unpaid general city taxes. The Comptroller then proceeds to sell the property for unpaid taxes according to law.

The assessment of real estate is believed to be from 70 % to 90 % of its market value. This assessment in 1904-5 amounted to \$241,990,060, while the personal property was assessed at \$7,038,500. It is not possible to ascertain what proportion of personal property is actually reached by taxation.

The State law does not fix any limit to the tax rate, which has varied greatly during the last ten years, as follows:

Year.	Rate per \$1,000 of valuation.
1896	\$15.02
1897	14.18
1898	18.04
1899	18.21
1900	17.46
1901	18.14
1902	17.20
1903	17.37
1904	18.79
1905	19.595

For this year, 1906, the rate will be about \$22.00 per thousand. One reason for this great increase this year is probably the fact that certain court decisions regarding street railway franchises have cut down some resources that were formerly available. It is believed also that tax-rates are often made artificially low by cutting down appropriations below the necessary point for efficiency, and borrowing money on "deficiency bonds" to make up the necessary amount. The low tax-rate makes a show of economy for use as political capital.

The people of course do not like high tax-rates; but they have never shown any disposition to do anything effective about it so far as the writer has been able to observe.

CINCINNATI

By MAX B. MAY, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The city revenue is derived from various sources, to-wit; taxes, special levies, licenses, Dow liquor tax, annual rental for use of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, which amounts to over a million dollars per annum, and nearly a million dollars as income from the city Water works which are owned and operated by the city and about \$250,000 as percentage on city railway receipts.

It is difficult to state in exact figures, the relation of revenue from taxation to the total revenue, inasmuch as in the report of the Auditor, there is included besides revenue derived from other sources than taxes, the amount of money annually raised by sale of bonds for public improvements. If, however, these be eliminated in any one year, it would be safe to state that more than one-half of the amount of money annually received by the city exclusive of school taxes, is raised from taxation.

In Ohio there are three distinct levies that go to make up the total taxes levied upon property, to-wit; the city tax rate, the county tax rate and the State tax rate. The taxes are levied upon real estate and personal property, there being in Ohio what is known as a general property tax. In addition to this, there are special taxes, such as the Dow liquor tax, which at the present writing is \$350.00 for each saloon. (An increase to \$1,000.00 seems probable.) Two tenths (2-10) of this amount is paid for the use of

the city infirmary and five tenths (5-10) is paid to the city, one half ($\frac{1}{2}$) to the credit of the police fund and one half ($\frac{1}{2}$) to the credit of the general fund of the city. Besides these taxes and special taxes, the State receives large receipts such as franchise taxes on railroads, express companies and a general corporation tax, but no part of the money thus raised is received by the city.

There is a decennial appraisal made of the real property for taxation; the last having been made in 1900 and in Hamilton County in which Cincinnati is situated, the property is appraised at about 60 per cent. of its market value. In 1904 and 1905 the total amount of real estate within the city proper, was \$180,528,850. The total amount of personalty returned for taxation was \$47,126,850 and all personal property tax in Ohio has been a failure.

Intangible personal property can not be reached by the assessors, and even tangible personal property is not returned to any great extent. In 1904 there was returned in Hamilton County, as money in bank, about \$1,226,068; in 1866 the total amount of money returned for taxation in the State was \$41,295,198, and in 1904, thirty-eight years thereafter, there was only returned \$61,425,130. In 1866 the amount of credits returned for taxation was \$72,658,344, and in 1904, \$79,580,579. In 1866 there were returned in the whole State of Ohio, 99,513 watches valued at \$2,524,025 and in 1904, thirty-eight years thereafter, there were only 74,344 watches valued at \$1,074,615. From this it can be readily seen that Ohio is in the same position as the rest of the country as regards taxation of personal property.

The last rate of taxation was 22.38 per cent. These items are made up as follows: 1.35 % for State; 4.12 % for educational purposes; 12 % for city purposes; 4.91 % for county purposes. The City of Cincinnati is restricted to a levy of 10 %, exclusive of the levy for county and State purposes, for school and schoolhouse purposes, for public libraries and library buildings; for university and observatory purposes; for hospitals and for sinking fund and interest, unless a greater tax be authorized by two-thirds vote of the people, after the same shall have been referred to them by Council. The last city levy exclusive of the schoolhouse levy was 12 mills. In this 12 mills, there was included 3.874 mill levied for hospital, university, observatory and sinking and interest fund, so that the total city levy was 1.874 mills under the maximum rate per minute. During the last ten years the rate of taxation for all purposes has been as follows:

1896	\$26.40 per \$1000.00	1901	\$24.82
1897	\$26.18 per \$1000.00	1902	\$23.18
1898	\$25.30 per \$1000.00	1903	\$22.70
1899	\$25.74 per \$1000.00	1904	\$22.54
1900	\$25.98 per \$1000.00	1905	\$22.38

It will thus be seen that the rate has been steadily decreasing during the last ten years. Part of this reduction is accounted for by the fact that in 1900 the tax duplicate was largely increased by raising the value of the real estate within the city and county. The reason that the rate has steadily decreased is that the dominant political organization known as the Cox

machine has made political capital of the fact that it has kept down the tax rate. This the organization was able to do because it controlled all the officials who fixed the tax rate and the special school levy was kept as low as possible and their public improvements were stopped and large bond issues were made instead of securing the funds by means of taxation.

It is difficult to state what the attitude of the public is toward an increase in the rate of taxation. Cincinnati is a very conservative community and it is doubtful whether the people would maintain in power an administration which would radically increase the tax rate. However it seems that within the next few years the tax rate will have to be raised and that if it is done gradually the people may favor an increase especially if the increased revenues are used for educational purposes and for such public improvements that are absolutely necessary. The present legislature has enacted a law which fixes the minimum school levy at 6 mills per dollar. This in itself is an increase of 1.88 over last year's levy.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

BY JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

The revenue of the City of New Orleans annually amounts to about four and one-half million dollars. The budget for 1906 is based upon estimated receipts of \$4,505,034.22. Of this amount, \$42,500 comes from licenses from merchants and others who carry on business in the city, \$191,000 from rents of stalls in the public markethouses, \$60,000 from penalties imposed upon taxpayers who are slow in paying taxes, \$25,000 fines paid by misdemeanants in the courts, \$14,000 from banks for interest on city deposits, and \$37,000 from sundry small items: this leaves the balance, say \$3,753,500, raised by direct taxation on real and personal property. In short, the annual revenue of this city comes, 83 % from direct taxes, and 17 % from other sources. Beyond the public markethouses, we have no municipally owned public utilities producing any revenue of consequence.

Our system of taxation, roughly speaking, is to get all out of real estate that we can make it bear, the usually accepted rule being to fix the assessment at a figure that will make the total tax on the real estate equal to 30 % of the rents derived therefrom: where a store brings \$5,000 per annum rent, it is assessed on the tax rolls at a value of \$50,000, and as the tax rate is 29 mills on the dollar, that makes the tax 29 % of the rent. Last year, our Governor issued orders to the State Assessors to raise the assessments and as a result, in some instances, this year the tax will equal 40 % of the rents and revenues.

Taxes are based upon a valuation fixed annually by Assessors: there is usually one Assessor for each county, except for New Orleans, where we have seven, one for each of the seven districts into which this city is divided. These assessors are all appointed by the Governor, and removable by him, but their appointment is subject to confirmation by the State Senate.

Their term of office is four years. They are practically supreme in all matters of assessment. In former years, there was an appeal from their decisions fixing values to the municipal body charged with raising and expending the taxes: but that has been taken away from the city authority by recent legislation. The Assessors are thus seen to be State officials, but as the valuation fixed by them is binding on the city, their action in assessing property values forms the foundation of all municipal revenue. By a cumbrous system of assessment, there is practically no appeal even to the courts from the values fixed by these Assessors. The law requires all tax payers to file with the Assessor, within a short time (10 days after receiving a blank form served on him by the Assessor) after 1st January of the tax year, a sworn statement of the description and cash value of all his property: in March, the Assessor opens his books for public inspection, and if instead of taking the property owner's valuation, he has placed a higher one of his own, the property owner must appear before the Assessor, and make a sworn statement, asking for a reduction to what he deems the proper figure. The Assessor then considers this document, and if he grants it, the reduction is made: if he refuses it, the taxpayer must go to the courts and bring suit for reduction. This suit is entirely at the taxpayer's cost, whether he wins or loses, because, being against an official State body, there is no legal provision for payment of costs in cases where the State is cast. As the great bulk of taxation is borne by small property owners, and as the expense of lawyer and court would in most cases be more than the difference in tax saved, suits for reduction of assessments are usually confined to corporations and large taxpayers. If the property owner fails to make the original sworn return of value, he is debarred from any recourse either to the Assessor or the court, but must abide by the Assessor's valuation, even though it be ten times the value. And if after making the sworn return, he fails to appear before the Assessor, and make the second sworn application, he is by law thereby debarred likewise from filing suit in court for the reduction.

This same law which makes it so difficult for a property owner to reduce his assessment, permits the City Council to increase the Assessor's valuation, if it sees fit to do so.

All the foregoing provisions apply to the valuation of property in general, but property used in the business of railways, telegraphs, telephones, sleeping cars, and express companies, is appraised by a special body composed of the State Auditor and six other citizens, whose valuation governs all municipal bodies.

In valuing property, the law requires it to be assessed at its full cash value, and, in the City of New Orleans, this is practically done with all real estate; as to personal property, it is not assessed at its real value. Consisting principally of merchandise, cash, stocks, bonds, etc., it is impossible for assessors to ascertain its value, or rather, its quantity, with any reasonable accuracy, and as a result, the dissatisfaction with the assessment on personalty is profound. Public franchises are assessed at very low figures. It is impossible to do more than guess at an answer to the question, "To what extent is personal property actually reached by taxation?" but I should say

that probably 60 % of it escapes taxation entirely. The valuations for the city for this year are now being made, and will be completed during April, but the Municipal Budget for 1906 estimates them as follows:—and these figures will be substantially correct:

Real estate	\$111,712,871.00
Personal property	48,298,434.00
Real and personal belonging to corporations assessed by special board	10,572,069.00
Total assessment	\$170,583,374.00

The tax rate is 29 mills on the dollar, of which 22 mills is for the city and 7 mills for the State. The Constitution of the State limits the rate to 10 mills for the city, and 6 mills for the State, but by special vote of the taxpayers, an additional 2 mill tax is levied for sewerage, water and drainage construction, and by a special constitutional provision a 1 mill levee tax is also levied. The other 10 mills included above are devoted to the consolidated debt of the city, and are over and above the 10 mill legal limit. In short, under the constitution of the State, we have to pay 10 mills for old debts, existent before its adoption, and for subsequent debts and alimony the city is restricted to an additional 10 mills. These two 10 mill taxes plus the State, levee, and sewerage taxes, make up the total of 29 mills. This rate has remained unchanged for ten years, excepting that the special 2 mill sewerage tax was imposed in 1899.

The people feel they are heavily taxed, and agitation is now beginning to reform the method of levy, which, however, has not yet assumed great strength but within the next three or four years there is little doubt that while the volume of taxes may not be increased, their burden will be shifted measurably from the small taxpayer to those better able to bear it.

DETROIT AND GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.

BY DELOS F. WILCOX, Secretary Detroit Municipal League.

The main sources of revenue in Michigan cities are,

1. The general tax levy.
2. Special assessments.
3. Liquor license fees.
4. Contributions from the State primary school funds.

Of course the cities also receive large amounts from loans, but they are not included here, for the reason that they have to be repaid ultimately from some of the other sources. The total net receipts of the City of Detroit for the last fiscal year, not including loans, refunds, etc., were about \$5,565,000, of which \$4,122,000 or 74 % was from the general tax levy, \$439,000 or 8 % was from special assessments, \$325,000 or 6 % was from liquor licenses, \$283,000 or 5 % was from contributions to the public schools from state funds.

The city also received about \$28,000 from miscellaneous licenses, \$43,000

from franchises, \$25,000 from fees, \$9,000 from rents, \$17,000 from fines, \$69,000 from interest on daily balances, \$25,000 from profits on industries conducted at the Detroit House of Correction, \$23,000 from sales of miscellaneous materials, \$32,000 from premiums on sales of bonds, \$84,000 from services, made up for the most part of inspection on contracts, bath house and phaeton services at Belle Isle Park, etc.

In Detroit the proportion of receipts from special assessments is low, for the reason that all repaving work is done at the expense of the city at large.

The accounts of the Detroit water department are not included in the general statement of receipts and expenses. The receipts from water rates and various permits and items for labor, material and repairs furnished by the water department amount to about \$600,000 a year, of which \$75,000 is paid by the City of Detroit from the general tax levy, making the net receipts of the water department approximately \$525,000. The total receipts of the Grand Rapids water department are approximately \$150,000, of which about \$20,000 is paid by the city from general taxes.

In Grand Rapids, the city revenue is derived from the same general sources as in Detroit. Special assessments, however, contribute a much larger proportion, as not only first improvements, but all succeeding street improvements are paid for by adjacent property, with the exception of the cost of improving street intersections and the part of the street occupied by the tracks of the Street Railway Company.

The system of taxation in Detroit and Grand Rapids is the usual one based on the general property tax. In each city, there is a Board of Assessors which determines the valuation of all property. In Detroit, land and improvements are separated on the rolls, though not in the receipts given for taxes. The assessment of real estate is very nearly 100 % of its market value, though there are considerable variations from street to street, and, especially in Grand Rapids, there are complaints of discrimination. In Detroit, vacant land is assessed at full value. The only noticeable discrimination is that platted land is assessed much higher than unplatted land in the same general location. In Grand Rapids, unimproved land is probably assessed somewhat lower than improved land. The total assessment of real estate in the two cities for the year 1905 was as follows:

Detroit	\$200,304,940
Grand Rapids	\$ 50,424,805

Personal property is assessed more generally in both cities than in many other parts of the United States. In Detroit in 1905, it was assessed at \$86,963,730, and in Grand Rapids at \$24,082,221, showing 30 % and 32 % of the total assessments in the two cities respectively.

There is no limit fixed by the State upon the tax rate in Detroit. The Grand Rapids Charter, however, contains a clause limiting the rate for general city purposes, not including school taxes and taxes necessary to pay the principal and interest of the public debt, to \$1.00 on a thousand. In Grand Rapids, the school taxes are levied with the county and State taxes. In Detroit, the school taxes are levied as a part of the city taxes. The total

tax rate last year in Detroit was \$17,797 in a thousand. The total tax rate in Grand Rapids for 1904 was \$15,329 in a thousand.

The rate of taxation for State and county taxes alone was \$3.093 in Detroit last year. I do not have the figures at hand for the State and county tax rate for preceding years. It may be said, however, that the gross amount of State taxes has been rapidly increasing, though with fluctuations in alternate years. The legislature has biennial sessions in Michigan. The year after the regular session always sees a high tax rate.

The tax rate in Detroit for city and school purposes during the last ten years has been as follows:

1896	\$15.596	1901	15.695
1897	17.683	1902	17.294
1898	15.992	1903	16.570
1899	16.332	1904	15.327
1900	15.403	1905	14.703

The tax rate in Grand Rapids shows much greater fluctuations on account of the greater fluctuation in assessments. The valuation of property in Grand Rapids was less than \$28,000,000 in 1899. By 1902, it had been "boosted" to \$70,500,000. This was due to the activity of the State Tax Commission. The increase in valuations in Detroit has been much more gradual. In 1899, the valuation was \$217,000,000. In 1902, it had increased to \$249,500,000.

The total general tax rate for all purposes in Grand Rapids during the ten years from 1895 to 1904 inclusive was as follows:

1895	\$33.460	1900	20.421
1896	30.164	1901	17.328
1897	31.477	1902	13.936
1898	28.382	1903	14.917
1899	30.331	1904	15.329

While these figures do not give a basis for an accurate comparison of the tax rates in the two cities, it is evident that the Detroit rate is considerably higher. The investigators for the United States Department of Commerce and Labor found the true city tax rates in 1903 to be \$16.57 in Detroit and \$10.23 in Grand Rapids, school taxes included in both cases.

Detroit does not seem to consider itself heavily taxed, although every year there is a great ado over the estimates. The city is protected, however, by a peculiar system which insures very careful consideration of the budget. The estimates are first presented to the Common Council and worked over in detail by that body. They are then passed on to the Board of Estimates, a mixed body, consisting for the most part of representatives elected in the same way and from the same districts as the aldermen. The Board of Estimates has authority to cut down any of the items of the budget, but cannot insert new items or increase the allowances as passed by the Common Council.

In Grand Rapids, there has been in recent years a great deal of complaint about taxation. While the rate of taxation has been greatly reduced from the figures six or eight years ago, this was accomplished by an extraordinary increase in valuations, and many of the citizens think they pay more at the

present low rate than they did formerly at the high rates with lower valuations. Another cause of serious complaint has been the heavy special assessments levied on a large percentage of the property-holders for street improvements and sewers. It is believed that the Detroit system of putting upon the city at large the burden of repaving streets, although it tends to raise the general tax rate, causes less complaint than the Grand Rapids system where large numbers of citizens are very heavily hit for re-improvement taxes.

Reference should be made to the different methods of dealing with the taxation of street railways. The street railway system of Grand Rapids is taxed uniformly for state, county, and city purposes. The valuation of the personal property is \$2,000,000. In Detroit, however, in lieu of ad valorem taxation for city and school purposes, there is a tax of gross receipts which netted the city last year \$42,683. The personal property of the Detroit United Railway is valued at \$10,250,000. As just noted, this property is exempt from city taxes, but is subject to state and county taxes. If it had been taxed on an ad valorem basis, like other property, Detroit would have received \$150,000 last year, in lieu of the \$42,683 received from the percentage of gross receipts.

In both cities, and everywhere in Michigan, under the general property tax, the effort to secure the assessment of personal property results in failure in a large percentage of cases. Aside from listing personal property which is visible, the assessors select such persons as they believe to have other personal property and require them to make sworn statements in regard to it. If the property owner neglects to make such a statement, the assessors guess at the amount of his property and he has to pay taxes on that amount unless he goes in and swears it off. The result is that when men having considerable personal property begin to be assessed on an uncomfortably large percentage of it, they go in and swear off the assessment.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wis.

The main sources of Milwaukee's revenue are direct taxation and license fees. About \$3,795,158.00 are raised annually by direct taxation, and \$675,170.00 from licenses. The ad valorem system is complemented by the license system in the case of such corporations, as the street railway, electric lighting companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and insurance and trust companies, and saloons. The statutes provide that "real property shall be valued by the Assessor at the full value which could ordinarily be obtained therefor at private sale." The total assessments for 1904 and 1905 are respectively as follows:

	1904	Total
Real Estate	Personal Property	
\$146,604,786.00	\$37,716,905.00	\$184,321,691.00
	1905	
\$152,037,355.00	\$39,217,415.00	\$191,254,770.00

Every effort within the limits of honesty appears to be made by Assessors to assess all property under the existing statutes, but the adequate assessment of personal property under present conditions is difficult if not impossible.

The city charter limits the rate of taxation for city purposes to 17½ mills on the assessed valuation of real and personal property. The following table gives the rate of taxation for the last ten years:

COMPARISON

OF AVERAGE RATES AND TOTAL LEVIES FOR CITY, STATE AND COUNTY PURPOSES, 1894-1905.

YEAR.	Total Valuation.	Levy for all City Purposes.	Average Rate for all City Purposes.	State and County Levy.	Rate for State and County Taxes.
			MILLS.		MILLS.
1894	\$142,926,395.00	\$2,525,719.18	17.671465	\$673,306.85	4.710864
1895	142,078,753.04	2,482,382.85	17.4718877	852,553.14	5.980839
1896	143,771,619.48	2,479,585.95	17.2466997	928,286.94	6.4386932
1897	144,684,425.46	2,474,149.24	17.100315	871,456.07	6.0231505
1898	147,229,428.05	2,577,770.31	17.5085264	811,878.03	5.5143733
1899	151,971,903.36	2,551,944.14	16.792220	802,596.87	5.28121878
1900	158,174,873.15	2,772,313.51	17.52688942	888,452.36	5.61689946
1901	165,224,887.00	2,642,654.92	15.9942903	1,068,649.37	6.4678475
1902	171,881,364.00	2,741,537.48	15.977181	1,271,059.25	7.394980
1903	180,018,546.00	3,040,352.12	16.8891049	1,127,504.11	6.2632664
1904	184,321,691.00	3,213,449.58	17.4339198	1,004,859.49	5.4516616
1905	191,254,770.00	3,379,394.52	17.6695960	1,285,886.35	6.72342107

WASHINGTON, D. C.

By GEORGE S. WILSON, Secretary Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, Washington.

The main sources of revenue in the city of Washington are taxes on real and personal property, licenses, fines, and fees. There is also an income of nearly \$400,000 from water rents, the water supply being a municipal function; but this income is not, in these notes, considered as a part of the revenue, because the income is used for the maintenance and operation of the system. The policy in conducting the water department is to make it just about self-supporting, and not to make it a source of city revenue.

The total revenues of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905, exclusive of the water fund and some special trust funds, were as follows:

Taxes on real property	\$3,285,161.59	
Penalties thereon	30,577.85	
		\$3,315,739.44
Taxes on personal property	662,698.22	
Penalties thereon	3,356.94	666,055.16
Special reimbursable taxes	388.97	
Penalties thereon	27.36	416.33
Sundry receipts as follows:		
Licenses	647,684.50	
Rents	34,279.61	
Fines	29,485.58	
Fees	66,258.84	
Miscellaneous collections	82,068.20	
Taxes on property purchased by the D. C.....	76.69	859,853.42
Total		\$4,842,064.35

The system of taxation includes, as indicated above, real and personal property. In the case of real property, the value of the land and improvements are assessed separately. No exemptions on account of improvements are allowed.

Property of churches, charitable institutions and certain educational institutions is exempt. More than half of all the real property in Washington is owned by the United States Government, and of course this is exempt from taxation. In lieu of taxes, however, the Federal Government pays one-half the expenses of maintaining the local government, so that the amount available for local government purposes is exactly double the amount indicated above as the total revenue of the District of Columbia.

Assessment.

(a) The law requires that real property be assessed at not less than two-thirds of its actual value. The assessment is revised triennially. The total assessed valuation of real estate in the District of Columbia, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, was \$217,608,296.

(b) The law provides that all tangible personal property, with certain specified exceptions, shall be assessed. The exceptions are, (1) library, benevolent, charitable and scientific institutions, not conducted for private gain; (2) libraries, school books, wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, family portraits and heirlooms; (3) household and other belongings not held for sale to the value of \$1,000.

The general rate provided for personal property is $1\frac{1}{2}$ % on the assessed value.

Dealers in general merchandise are assessed $1\frac{1}{2}$ % on the average stock in trade.

Hotels are assessed $1\frac{1}{2}$ % on the assessed value of their furniture.

Banks and trust companies 6 % on their gross earnings.

Gas companies 5 % on gross earnings.

Electric lighting and telephone companies 4 % on gross earnings.

Street railroad companies are assessed 4 % per annum on gross receipts.

Insurance companies 1½ % on premium receipts.

Bonding companies 1½ % on gross receipts.

Savings banks having no capital stock, 1½ % on their surplus and undivided profits.

General corporations 1½ % on the value of their capital stock, except that newspaper, real estate and mercantile companies are assessed as individuals.

Building associations 4 % on gross earnings.

As to the extent to which personal property is actually reached by taxation, I am unable to furnish information other than the fact that the total assessed valuation of personal property for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, was \$26,575,819.66. As indicated above, the rate on this varies from 1½ % to 6 %. The total amount of taxes being \$666,247.20, the average rate is about 2½ %.

The rate of taxation on real estate is 1½ % per annum. This rate is fixed by Congressional enactment, the local authorities having no power to fix or modify the tax rate. This rate has not increased during the last ten years, except that up until 1903, the law provided that agricultural land should be taxed at a rate of 1 % per annum. The rate of taxation on personal property varies as indicated above. The personal property tax has been in effect only since July, 1902. Prior to that time, there was a personal tax law, which had become inoperative because there was no machinery for its enforcement, and for many years, scarcely any personal taxes had been paid. There was very strenuous opposition to the revival of the personal tax law.

SEATTLE

By PROF. J. ALLEN SMITH, University of Washington

The revenue which Seattle collects for general municipal purposes is derived mainly from two sources, the general property tax which brought into the city treasury in 1905, \$853,193.77, and liquor licenses which amounted to \$298,717.70. Other sources of income are the profits of the city water works and the city light and power plant, the tax on gross earnings of street railways, fees, fines, etc.

All property subject to taxation is supposed to be assessed at about 60 % of its market value. But as a matter of fact the valuation for this purpose is not uniform. The small property owner has to pay more taxes than he would if all property were assessed at a uniform percentage of its true value. This disparity between the assessed and the market value is greatest in the case of the larger and more valuable pieces of property. The large blocks of unplatted land held for speculation seem to be quite generally favored in

this respect. The most flagrant discrimination, however, is seen in the case of the public service corporations which are invariably unvalued for purposes of taxation. The Seattle Electric Company is a good example. This corporation which controls the street railway system of the city is assessed for taxation at only about one-seventh of what it claims to have invested in the business.

The total assessed value of all property real and personal in 1905 was \$70,026,728.00, of which \$13,003,182.00 was personal property. All street railway tracks, however, are assessed as personal property and the same is true of all tide lands leased from the state. The latter are in many cases of great value, yet they are together with the improvements thereon assessed at an insignificant sum. That personal property very largely escapes taxation is beyond question.

The rate for municipal purposes last year was 15½ mills on the dollar. This is three mills higher than the rate of taxation in 1895. If all real estate were assessed at 60 % of its market value, as it is supposed to be, and all personal property subject to taxation could be made to contribute its due proportion of the municipal revenue, the nominal rate would be very much lower.

The city council fixes the rate of taxation for municipal purposes and in exercising this power is limited neither by constitutional nor statutory provisions. There does not seem to be any disposition on the part of the people generally to oppose a moderate increase in the rate of taxation when it is really needed for the purpose of meeting necessary public expenditures. The complaint most frequently heard is not of high taxes but of unequal assessment.

DULUTH, MINN.

By W. G. JOERNS, Duluth, Minn.

The main sources of revenue in the City of Duluth are general taxation and miscellaneous sources, such as liquor licenses, general licenses, court fines and fees, etc. From direct taxation there was received in 1905, in round numbers, about \$441,000, from liquor licenses \$173,000, and from other miscellaneous sources about \$42,000 more, the aggregate for the year being about \$656,000. About \$20,000 in addition were collected as "Department Earnings," being fees in different offices, service receipts, etc. The figures of the Water and Light Department are not included in the above.

The system in vogue is the usual one of the general assessment of real and personal property, the franchise value of public service corporations being included in such assessment. The assessment within the corporate limits of the city is made by the city assessor, subject to review by a local Board of Equalization and later by a County Board and finally to equalization by a State Board. The final product is the basis of all taxation, city, county, school and state. The city tax levy is made by the Common Council which, however, is inhibited by charter provision from exceeding in this regard the previously reported estimate of the so-called City Conference Committee.

The levies for county, school and state purposes are made by the duly constituted authorities in the several branches of administration and are subject to limitation by statute.

In the Assessment of Real Property for taxation it has been the local policy to assess the land itself at approximately *one-half* of its market value, the improvements thereon, however, at only about *one-third* the actual value. The personal property is also assessed at only *one-third* its actual value. It is well understood that the personal property assessment is a very unequal one, bearing most heavily in proportion on the small householder and man of moderate means. To quote the words of a competent and reliable public official: "It is comparatively easy to reach a fairly accurate estimate of the personal estate of people of moderate means. A mere glance will often suffice for fairly accurate results. In the returns also of this class there is little to cover up. It is wholly different, however, as to the homes and property of the rich. The rich, as a class, avoid taxation by every means at their command. They cover up and they will not disclose; and it is almost impossible in the vast majority of cases to reach even an approximately correct estimate. It is fair to say that but a very small fraction of the personal property of the rich is ever reached for taxation purposes."

The assessed valuation of the City of Duluth on January 1st, 1906, was \$30,636,328.00. This was made up of Real Property \$23,768,800, and Personal Property \$6,866,528.

The 1905 Rate of Taxation for all purposes was 32.90 Mills, divided, as follows: City 14.90; County 3.57; School 11.40; and State 3.03. Going back for nine additional years, to-wit: from 1904 to 1896, both inclusive, we find the Total Rate at respectively 33.50, 31.40, 34.40, 29.90, 30.00, 24.90, 28.10, 31.40, and 31.40; while the City Rate for the same years was respectively 14.90, 15.10, 17.60, 17.70, 17.70, 13.70, 13.70, 12.30, and 12.80.

The general public, of course, welcomes a tax reduction. It also is inclined to look with favor upon anything that has merely the appearance of such reduction. Therefore a reduction of the tax rate is usually regarded with favor, while an increased assessment is viewed with more or less suspicion and disfavor. It is easily overlooked that the net result may be the same and that the real difficulty, if there be one, usually lies farther back. There is at present some agitation in the City of Duluth in favor of an increased assessment, to the end that the tax rate may be reduced to an equivalent amount.

Perhaps it may be just as well to call attention here to an imposition against which there is agitation at the present moment and as to which there has been more or less of an angry murmur for some time. I refer to the manner in which the railroad corporations of the state have managed to escape local taxation (even to the extent of evading the payment of local assessments for special improvements) by the payment of a more or less inadequate gross earnings tax into the State Treasury.

The contributions that the railroads thus make to the public revenues are notoriously inadequate. But even if the amount thereof were increased

to a proper proportion, there would remain another element of grave injustice, to-wit: the one of the grossly inequitable distribution of the proceeds.

At the present time the resulting revenue from the gross earnings tax is applied in reduction of the general state tax, regardless of where the revenue is produced. Thus the three ore-carrying railroads of St. Louis County, with terminals at the Head of the Lakes, pay an annual gross earnings tax of approximately \$750,000.00. The other roads with terminals at Duluth pay about \$250,000.00 more. There is thus paid into the State Treasury on railroad business in Duluth and St. Louis County the enormous aggregate of \$1,000,000.00. Of this amount St. Louis County receives back (in the shape of a reduction of the general state levy) but a mere bagatelle and all sections of the state, except the larger terminal cities, receive a hugely disproportionate benefit.

When it is considered that the railroad property in the City of Duluth comprises in value one-third of all the property and is exempt from all local taxation even to the extent of the special assessments for street improvements, that the public expenditures for police, fire department and other purposes are greatly increased by virtue of the presence of such railroads and property in the city, and that the remaining two-thirds of the property is thus charged with the entire burden of local taxation, the grave injustice of the imposition becomes at once apparent.

The present agitation in the matter is directed to the point of securing for St. Louis County and the City of Duluth that proportion of the railroad taxes now paid into the State Treasury as would be justly and fairly due them if this railroad property were assessed for local taxation and contributed its share of the local taxes like other property. It has been estimated by competent authority that the additional amount which would thus flow into the city and county treasuries, in proportionate reduction of local taxation, would be approximately *ninety* per cent. of the railroad gross earnings taxes originating at this point.

MUNICIPAL TAXATION IN HOLLAND.

PROF. H. KIERSCH, Rotterdam, Holland.

The villages and towns in the Kingdom of the Netherlands are known as communes. While they have a government of their own, they are nevertheless subject to the administrative control of the provincial authorities as exercised through a standing committee of the Provincial States. This standing committee supervises the management of the communal property and finances, but in case of a conflict of decisions the final determination of the dispute rests with the central government.

The communes possess but a limited power of taxation. They are forbidden to levy taxes on articles for consumption, articles in course of transportation and on means of communication. Nor can they levy a tax on any

property which is subject to a tax of the central government. But they are allowed to put a surtax, up to a maximum of 50%, on the amount of taxes on realty and on the individual expenses paid to the central government.

The income of the communes is mainly derived from two sources:

1. From receipts for the various services rendered by the institutions, establishments, and public works, of the commune.

2. From a capitation tax, a tax on incomes and a tax on dogs.

The early form of tax on incomes was to levy the tax on a supposedly certified income, so far as it was liable to be ascertained. But this loose method of taxation was too unproductive and precarious and so was abandoned for a more rigorous income tax. The old method still prevails in only one large city, the Hague, and this circumstance coupled with its other attractions has made the capital city the resort of our millionaires.

The two large cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam with their large masses of workmen and therefore great demand for communal expenditure to supply their social needs, were forced by their necessity for increased revenue to abandon the old form of taxation. The rate of the tax on incomes from realty has risen from 3.4% to 4% in Rotterdam and to 5¼% in Amsterdam. Although their needs were greater, the hostility of the taxpayers to the income tax forced these two cities to resort to a new form of taxation instead of increasing the rate on incomes. So a resort was had to a street-tax, a tax levied on buildings in proportion to their frontage on the street and their rental value.

But the efforts of the cities were insufficient to supply them with enough revenue and it was impossible for the cities to meet the difficulties of their situation. And so the central government to relieve the communal governments from the apparent necessity of violating the fundamental law on taxation was forced to pay large sums to uphold the enfeebled blood-drained corpses of these modern communities. And it is the opinion of many that the state contributions are still too low in view of the increasing burden imposed on the cities by the unshaken, steadily accruing influx to the cities of the country people who are to some extent at least unemployable.

The total actual revenue of Amsterdam was in the past year (1905) more than 20 million gulden and in the same year the revenue of Rotterdam was nearly 13 million gulden. The approximate figures for their revenue from the state—contributions, surtaxes and real taxes—are:

Amsterdam: fl. 3,200,000 fl. 2,200,000 fl. 5,800,000.

Rotterdam: fl. 1,900,000 fl. 847,000 fl. 2,100,000.

Ascending to a provision of the law in Rotterdam, in the interest of the lower and middle classes, 500 gld. is deducted from all incomes before the tax is imposed, and in addition all balances so found, with a maximum of 800 gld., are subject to only 50% of the rate, while in Amsterdam there is no general deduction but the rate on incomes from 6000—2,300 fl. is progressive from 4% to 99½%. And in this latter city a deduction is made according to the number of children so as to especially favor the recipients of the lower incomes, it being possible to secure a maximum reduction of 96.4%.

The rate of taxation for all incomes is the same, whether for a large or a small income. But for convenience sake the various incomes have been divided into classes. In Rotterdam there are 45 classes between the amounts of income from 600 fl. to 12,500 fl. and one class for each additional 1,000 fl. income. And in this city the tax-payer pays the lowest sum in the class in which he falls. In Amsterdam there are fifty classes between the incomes of 600 fl. to 100,000 fl. and one class for each additional 10,000 fl. income. Here the taxpayer pays in proportion to amount of his income, unless he refuses to give a detailed account of his income, under which circumstances he pays a tax on the highest sum of his class, without regard to the fact whether he indicated his income or the tax-assessor. From the decision of this officer, an appeal lies in the first instance to the communal council and for a final decision to the standing committee of the Provincial States.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

Avery, E. McK. *A History of the United States and Its People.* Vol. II. Pp. xxxviii, 458. Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Bailie, William. *Josiah Warren.* Pp. xxxviii + 135. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906.

The sub-title of this little booklet is "The First American Anarchist, a Sociological Study." In calling Josiah Warren an anarchist, the author means only to imply that "anarchism is a tendency, moral, social and intellectual, which questions the infallibility of statute laws, and the divine right of authority." His development from the earlier years when as a member of the New Harmony Community, founded by Robert Owen, he sees the failure of certain social theories is traced, and those who are interested in the growth of social theories in this country, will welcome this little volume.

Bérard, Victor. *British Imperialism and Commercial Supremacy.* Translated by H. W. Foskett. Pp. x, 298. Price, \$2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

The vivacity of a Frenchman coupled with a Frenchman's search for motives and philosophies, has been applied to the British fiscal question, "British Imperialism and Commercial Supremacy" by Victor Bérard. It is translated into English by H. W. Foskett so that England may profit and that the strong criticism of a disinterested student may be taken to heart by the British nation. The analysis in the book is keen, its style lively, and it is interesting reading. The book is almost an economic history of England for the period of J. Chamberlain's activity. That statesman comes in for the lion's share of attention; free trade and protection are thoroughly analysed and the illustrations used show wide reading.

There is some reference to American competition, but it is Germany that the writer is chiefly holding up for English study and emulation. His personified account of Germany's 19th century transformations borders on the dramatic.

Brown, W. H. *The Glory-Seekers.* Pp. xvi, 347. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Bullock, C. J. *Selected Readings in Public Finance.* Pp. viii, 671. Price, \$2.25. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Cambridge Modern History. Vol. IX. Edited by Ward, Prothero and Leathes. Pp. xxviii, 946. Price, \$4.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Carroll, B. H., Jr. *Political History of Europe, from 1815 to 1848*. Pp. 221. Price, paper, \$2.00; boards, \$2.50. Waco, Texas: Baylor University.

Reserved for later notice.

Carver, Thomas N. *Sociology and Social Progress*. Pp. vi + 810. Price, \$2.75. Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1905.

The author is Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, and although in this volume he wanders far from the field of ordinary theoretical economics, he has given us a volume of very great value in sociology. It is not a monograph, but a collection of readings most carefully selected and arranged.

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I, The Nature, Scope and Method of Sociology, containing long abstracts from Comte, and as regards the general distinction between sociology and the specific social sciences, from Stuckenberg. Part II, Sociology as a Study of Social Progress,—the Direction of Social Progress—with abstracts from Comte, Ward, Fiske, Patten, Robinson. Part III deals with the Factors of Social Progress with four sub-heads—A, The Physical and Biological Factors. B—Physical Factors. C—Social and Economic Factors. D—The Political and Legal Factors. Under A we find a discussion of the physical laws over the individual and the organization of society. Under B, moral and intellectual laws, religious beliefs, genius, and imitation are discussed. Under C, the influence exercised by religion, literature and government, the struggle for the life of others, natural selection and social selection, crime and degeneration; while under D, the forms of government and the limits of the authority of society over the individual are among the leading factors treated, with quotations again from the most prominent authors in the various fields.

The compiler has produced a volume which will be of very great service to those of his readers who wish to get a general conception of the ideas of the best thinkers and students of society, but who have not the time to read the works *in extenso*, nor the wisdom to choose well. It will likewise be of great service in schools and colleges, having already been adopted in the University of Pennsylvania.

Colquhoun, A. R. *The Africander Land*. Pp. xvi, 438. Price, \$5.00. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Commons, J. R. *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*. Pp. xiv, 628. Price, \$2.50. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

The Congo. *A Report of the Commission of Inquiry Appointed by the Congo Free State Government.* Pp. vi + 171. Price \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.

This valuable addition to "The Questions of the Day Series" is a translation of the original report. The translator's name is not given, but the publishers say that the translation is complete and accurate. This official report has already been widely commented upon and will be welcomed by those who wish to see to what extent the administration of the Free State is criticised by the King's own commissioners. A large part of the abuses pointed out, in the opinion of the committee, could have been avoided for "almost all had as their primal cause, the difficulty of securing work from the negro."

Crosby, Oscar T. *Tibet and Turkestan.* Pp. xviii, 332. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Mr. Crosby is an American army officer and therein lies one of the important features of the book. We have had a succession of explorers and travellers in the same region and plenty of European representatives of one side or the other of the British-Russian contest for Asia. Mr. Crosby claims to be an impartial observer but he was apparently considerably impressed by his sojourn in the luxurious and much-used private car which the Russian minister of railways always has on hand to carry into Central Asia any foreigner of title or supposed influence.

Mr. Crosby lays small claim to being an explorer. He had some difficult travelling in crossing from Russian Turkestan to Chinese Turkestan and thence across Western Tibet to the headwaters of the Indus and the Indian railway system whence he went to Bombay. He gives an interesting narration of the journey but the book is mainly a discussion of questions and problems rather than an account of exploration and travel. Mr. Crosby seems to be a philosophically inclined anti-imperialist. He thinks that Turkestan is soon to be all Russia, and that the Younghusband trip to Lhasa was a great blunder in that it broke down a bulwark of Asia and started Russia and England on a parallel race to the back door of China. This he thinks has merely increased the complications of England, a country which may overtax herself because she rules foreign races by the *sahib* quality of some of her people, and he fears that she may overreach herself.

Although Mr. Crosby did not, according to the small scale map that the book contains, get within 550 miles of Lhasa, the Younghusband expedition and the Tibetan question come in for a large share of attention. He also suggests and starts an interesting speculation into the social and political effects of irrigation on Asiatic (and probably other) peoples.

Dougherty, J. H. *The Electoral System of the United States.* Pp. vi, 425. Price, \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Dubois, Leo L. *St. Francis of Assisi, Social Reformer.* Pp. 250. Price, \$1.00. New York: Benziger Bros., 1906.

It is a pleasure to record the publication of this biography written by one who belongs to the Catholic Church. In many ways it does not com-

pare favorably with the well-known biography of Sabatier, to which the author gives high praise. But inasmuch as Sabatier was a Protestant, this will be all the more appreciated by the Catholic co-religionists.

Duniway, C. A. *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*. Pp. xvi, 202. Price, \$1.50. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Harding, Samuel Bannister. *Essentials of Mediæval and Modern History*. Pp. xxx + 612. Price, \$1.50. New York, 1902-05.

Hart, Albert Bushnell. *Essentials in American History*. Pp. xlvii + 583. Price, \$1.50. New York, 1902-05.

Walker, Albert Parry. *Essentials in English History*. Pp. xlii + 550. Price, \$1.50. New York, 1902-05.

Wolfson, Arthur Mayer. *Essentials in Ancient History*. Pp. 528. Price, \$1.50. New York: The American Book Company, 1902-05.

These four volumes of school histories have been prepared in consultation with Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University.

Holt, Hamilton (Editor). *Undistinguished Americans*. Pp. vii + 399. Price, \$1.50. New York: James Pott & Co., 1906.

The publication the last two or three years in the New York "Independent" of a number of life-stories, largely of humble people, told or written by themselves with as little editing as possible, has attracted considerable attention. The editor of the "Independent," Mr. Holt, has done a genuine service in presenting sixteen of these stories in the present volume. It is doubtful if the life-story of an equal number of distinguished Americans would have more human interest or real worth than these. When it is remembered that the majority of these are the stories of immigrants, many of them of the type commonly considered as problems, its value at the present time is accentuated. These stories are as interesting as any novel with the additional advantage that they are stories of actual life, so the Polish sweatshop girl, the Italian bootblack, the Greek peddler, the Swedish farmer, the French dressmaker, the German nurse-girl, the Japanese servant, the Chinese laundryman deserve wide reading. Included in the number are a few of native Americans—the life-story of an itinerant minister, of a negro peon, of an Indian, and of a farmer's wife. Of these, only one fails to ring true, and that is the story of the farmer's wife which is more or less sour because she is not and cannot be what she would be. It strikes a sadly discordant note because it is the one story of failure to overcome obstacles which have made the writer bitter.

Johnson, Joseph French. *Money and Currency in Relation to Industry, Prices and the Rate of Interest*. Pp. x, 398. Price, \$1.75. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Lavisse, E. *Histoire de France*. Vol. VII, No. 1. Pp. 406. Price, 6 fr. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1906.

Volume VII of the *Histoire de France*, published under the editorship of M. Lavisse, describes the reign of Louis XIV from 1643 to 1685. Part I discusses La Période Mazarine, L'Installation du Roi, Le Gouvernement Économique, Le Gouvernement Politique, and Le Gouvernement de la Société. It is written by M. Lavisse himself. Excellent are the character sketches of Mazarin, Colbert, and "le grand Roi." M. Lavisse adds, "Ce surnom, il faut le lui laisser, mais il est remarquable que personne n'ait dit que Louis XIV fut un grand homme." The general reflections on La Fronde (pp. 42-44), the statements concerning the national character of the French (p. 263), and several passages about the economic conditions deserve quotation; but better yet the whole volume should be translated. It is a masterly sketch, told in fitting manner, and it holds continuously the eager interest of the reader. It is certainly the equal of any volume in this remarkable coöperative work.

Meyer, H. R. *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain*. Pp. xii, 340. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Moore, J. Howard. *The Universal Kinship*. Pp. x + 329. Price \$1.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1906.

The author of this volume is instructor in Zoology in Crane Manual Training High School, Chicago. His chief purpose is "to prove and interpret the kinship of the human species with the other species of animals." The first eleven chapters are devoted to "a proof of the physical kinship," that is, a statement of the idea of evolution leading up to man. In the second group—five chapters—the physical kinship is traced, and much that exists in modern society is but a holdover from more primitive conditions. "(Instead of the highest, man is in some respects, the lowest of the animal kingdom. The most unchaste, the most drunken, the most selfish, the most conceited, the most miserly, the most hypercritical, and the most bloodthirsty of terrestrial creatures.)" Human nature, therefore, is in large measure, the product of the jungle. And from the provincialism of modern times, with its man-centered ethics, we must turn to a more permanent conception. Ultimately the author believes peace, justice, and solidarity will rule.

Oppenheim, L. *International Law*. II. Pp. xxxiv, 595. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Parsons, Frank. *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*. Pp. viii, 364. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Paulsen, Friedrich. *The German Universities and University Study*. Pp. xviii, 451. Price, \$3.00. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Pepper, C. M. *Panama to Patagonia.* Pp. xxii, 399. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Rapid Transit in New York City and in Other Great Cities. Pp. 295. Price, \$2.50. New York: Chamber of Commerce, 1905.

Reinsch, Paul S. *Colonial Administration.* Pp. viii, 422. Price, \$1.50. The Citizen's Library. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

This book is a discussion of nine administrative problems and the solutions adopted by the principal colonial powers. The author devotes to his task an extensive knowledge of the colonial records and laws and brings into each chapter a digest of a vast amount of material. The problems discussed are: Education and Social Improvement, Colonial Finance, Currency and Banking, Commerce, Communication, Agricultural and Industrial Development, Land Policy, Labor, Defence and Police.

Rose, J. H. *The Development of the European Nations.* Two volumes. Pp. xii, 376; x, 362. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Siegfried, A. *Le-Canada: Les Deux Races.* Pp. 416. Price, 4 fr. Paris: Armand Colin, 1906.

Smith, F. E. and Sibley, N. W. *International Law as Interpreted During the Russo-Japanese War.* Pp. xii, 494. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. Imported by Boston Book Company.

See "Book Reviews."

The Sociological Society. *Sociological Papers.* Vol. II. Pp. xiii + 312. Price \$3.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.

This second volume of the papers read before the Sociological Society of London, England, deserves the careful attention of American social students. The method followed in the book is to have a particular paper followed by the report of the original discussion together with written communications from experts the world over and various contributed notes, the author being given a chance for the final reply. Mr. Francis Galton contributes three papers, first, Restriction in Marriage—second, Studies in National Eugenics—third, Eugenics as a Factor in Religion. These essays are extremely valuable and suggestive. Prof. Patrick Geddes continues a discussion begun in volume I on Civics as Concrete and Applied Sociology in which he gives some most interesting tables that are well worth the careful attention of any one dealing with social problems. Prof. M. E. Sadler contributes an important article on The School in some of its Relations to Social Organization and to National Life. Dr. Emil Westermarck discusses The Influence of Magic on Social Relationships. Prof. Hoeffding treats of the relation between Sociology and Ethics. Dr. J. H. Bridges states

Some Guiding Principles in the Philosophy of History. Mr. J. S. Stuart-Glennie contributes three papers—first, The Place of the Social Sciences in the Classification of Knowledges. Second—The General Sociological Laws and the Anthropological Bases of Science and Socialization. Third, Application of General Historical Laws to Contemporary Events.

Spargo, John. *The Bitter Cry of the Children.* Pp. xiii, 337. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Strong, Josiah (Editor). *Social Progress.* Pp. 337. Price, \$1.00. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1906.

This is the third volume of the valuable year-book gotten out under the auspices of the American Institute of Social Service. In his preparation, Dr. Strong has been assisted by Mr. William H. Tolman and Mr. William D. P. Bliss. The volume on the whole is a decided improvement over the earlier volumes particularly as regards freedom from typographical errors which, owing to peculiar conditions, were unusually conspicuous last year. It is, of course, impossible to get accurate statistics of all the various topics under discussion, and some of those given are of very little value. More careful editing would probably improve the volume in this respect. The bibliographies are likewise open to criticism, containing much that is comparatively worthless along with much that is of very great value, with very little to indicate relative worth. It is, however, the most useful work we have, and will therefore be widely used.

Swift, M. I. *Marriage and Race Death.* Pp. 270. Price, 50 cents. New York: Morrison I. Swift Press, 1906.

The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States. Pp. xiii + 262. New York: New York Co-operative Society, 1906.

This volume contains the addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York City, Thanksgiving Day, 1905, together with addresses delivered elsewhere in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth settlement of the Jews in the United States, and includes in the appendix numbers of editorials from the leading papers of the country relative to the Jews in America. It embodies therefore, in appropriate form, the exercises connected with the anniversary celebration, and will serve as an interesting reminder that the Jews have been in this country almost from the first and have borne their full share in its development.

Traubel, Horace. *With Walt Whitman in Camden.* Pp. xv + 472. Price, \$3.00. New York: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906.

No lover of American literature can fail to be pleased—unless he totally despises Walt Whitman—with this most interesting story by a man who knew Whitman intimately. Mr. Traubel kept notes of his conversations and talks with Whitman, and these notes, with practically no editing, he has

reproduced in this volume. The period covered by this book is from March 28 to July 14, 1888. Particularly to be commended in the volume are the excellent portraits of authors and contemporaries of Whitman, together with letters and other manuscripts from noted people.

Westermarck, Edward. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.*

Pp. xxiv, 716. Price, \$3.50. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Wise, J. S. *A Treatise on American Citizenship.* Pp. viii, 340. Northport,

New York: Edw. Thompson, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Woods, Frederick Adams. *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty.* Pp. viii

+ 312. Price, \$3.00. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1906.

Not since the publication of Hereditary Genius by Mr. Francis Galton, have we had so complete a study of this most interesting and important topic. The author, formerly instructor in the Harvard Medical School, is now lecturer in the Biological Department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Believing in the profound importance of inherited characteristics, he has undertaken to show what part heredity really plays in the make-up of the human being. Inasmuch as the royal families of Europe have been most clearly in the public eye, and therefore as the facts regarding each member of these families are more easily available than from any other group of modern society, he has taken them as a basis of study. Dr. Woods has avoided some mistakes of Galton and other predecessors by including every person of blood relationship about whom anything could be found, and in counting inheritance through the mother as of as much importance as inheritance through the father. 3,312 distinct persons are embraced in the study and the author has attempted to grade in groups numbered from 1 to 10, these different individuals as regards their intellectual and moral traits. This grading is evidently the key of the whole work, and the author believes he has been approximately successful, although from a scientific standpoint, the student can scarcely regard the failure of mention in Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary as an absolutely trustworthy index either of capacity or attainment. Without going into the details of the method, the author shows, to his own satisfaction, at least, that the development of great men in the history of Europe has been largely the product of heredity; that is, the great opportunity has not always produced the great man. We may understand his position by assuming that we have six families—1, 2, 3, 4; 5, 6. Of these families, 1 and 2 possess unusual physical and mental ability; 3 and 4 are average; 5 and 6 are mediocre. Whenever family 1 intermarries with family 2 the result is a line of strong men and women. When 5 and 6 intermarry, the result is almost beyond question, a line of inferior people, and where the lines cross, the various elements have exerted just about their proper proportion. Whether the author has satisfactorily proved his contention will be questioned by many people, but his volume is of very great value in calling attention to an important though often neglected

field of inquiry. It is worthy, therefore, of careful study. In arrangement and presentation the author has been very successful, while numerous portraits of the individuals studied, add to the interest of the work.

REVIEWS

Colquhoun, Archibald R. *The Africander Land*. Pp. xv, 438. Price, \$5.00. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1906.

Mr. Colquhoun's book is a study of the race question in South Africa, and a plea for the imperialistic idea. As first Administrator of Mashonaland, he spent twenty months (1890) in South Africa. Fourteen years later he returned to visit all colonies and protectorates.

The subjects taken up are those dealing with actual conditions and present day affairs; geographical and historical matter are merely incidental. Four maps and a good subject index are included.

The book is divided into three parts:

I. Black South Africa.

II. White South Africa.

III. On the Knees of the Gods.

Part I deals with the Black Problem "as being the first, the greatest and the most pressing of all the difficult questions that arise." The author avoids theories concerning the ethical rights of the negro unless the theories have an economic basis. The virtues and vices of the Kaffir are impartially set forth; his economic value in mining, farming and domestic labor is enormous and the question of inducing him to work is interestingly discussed. He must be, in some measure educated—but "to what end?" It is difficult to work out a scheme of education for the native while it is still undetermined what place in the national scheme shall be his. Industrial education is urged. Land tenure, the future of the black races, the British Indian in Africa, missionary influences and other subjects are presented. "Political rights," the author uncompromisingly states, "do not belong to the conquered race but we can all the more afford to grant them "privileges." He does not suggest how these privileges shall be secured to them; nor how the "conquered races" shall be insured against exploitation.

In Part II the reader becomes intimately acquainted with the Dutch Africander. His language, school and church; his part in private and public life; his agricultural prospects and the mineral wealth of his land—these questions and many more are presented at length.

"My observations in various parts of the world lead me to believe that imperfect as is the Imperial method of governing subject races, it has proved so far the best yet devised"—the development of this idea constitutes Part III.

The style is easy. The ideas are clear cut and well arranged. The problems pressing for solution are almost hopelessly intricate and the reader feels that they have been well presented by one who knows.

Philadelphia

HENRIETTA STEWART SMITH.

Commons, John R. *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems.* Pp. xiv, 628. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905.

This book is the second of a series of works consisting of selections on economic subjects, and is essentially a compilation of various articles and papers dealing with labor problems. These are selected largely from economic and trade journals, and each one is intended to illustrate one or more phases of the subject. The book comprises twenty-eight chapters and thus permits an extensive discussion of this many sided and intricate problem. The editor has with judgment and discrimination endeavored to collaborate the best of recent literature available for his purpose. Rapidly changing conditions necessitate this: hence but a single paper antedates the year 1900. The plan of arrangement of the book is apparently somewhat obscure. Nevertheless we are fortunate in possessing such a compilation of the thought and painstaking work of many thorough investigators.

The book is another attempt to apply the "case method" to the study of economic problems. Intended as a text, it is not designed, however, for use as an elementary work but rather in connection with a lecture course, to which it is certainly better adapted.

A large portion of the material of the book is descriptive in character and, therefore, enables the reader to secure a good understanding of the actual conditions existing, and of the methods in vogue, in the different industries described which typify the labor movement. This impressive view of a cross section of the current of labor history is gained indeed at the partial expense of the view both up and down the stream.

The editor's introduction is very valuable, being a short but careful analysis of the book. He points out its salient features and by adding numerous foot notes enables the reader more readily and effectually to trace principles discussed in different chapters of the book. The several chapters contributed by the editor are strong portrayals of labor conditions and of the methods and policies of labor unions. Special mention should be made of the discussion of trade agreements and the illuminating facts in regard to the relation of the various foreign elements to American industry and to the associated labor problems.

Two articles of more than ordinary importance are those discussing the negro artisan and the printer's health. The significance of the negro as a factor in the realm of labor has hitherto received but scant attention in a general discussion of labor problems. Omitting him, however, no such discussion can be complete. The health of the laborer, whatever be the nature of his employment, is a matter of serious interest. Both our individual and social welfare are involved. Americans have been insufficiently disturbed over this problem, and a chapter discussing the health of the employee will, it is hoped, produce a wholesome effect by encouraging a study of this subject.

Important features of the labor problem, such as: the sweating system, employment of women, hours of labor, and systems of benefit and insurance, are well treated, but the question of child labor might have been afforded additional space. Labor legislation and the attitude of the courts toward

certain questions involving the conditions of labor are given appropriate attention.

A book consisting wholly of selected papers can with difficulty cover the entire field of a subject adequately, without becoming somewhat bulky. This difficulty the editor has largely overcome. Still it is to be regretted both for the benefit of the student and the lay reader that such subjects as wages, unemployment, standard of life, and the relation of immigration to the general conditions of American labor did not receive more specific attention. The book, however, is invaluable to the student; it places in accessible form a mass of most important material, and heartily commends itself to the reader.

University of Pennsylvania.

G. B. MANGOLD.

Literature on the Railway Rate Question.

Haines, Henry S. *Restrictive Railway Legislation.* Pp. 355. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Noyes, Walter C. *American Railroad Rates.* Pp. 277. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1905.

Meyer, Hugo R. *Government Regulation of Railway Rates.* Pp. xxvii, 486. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Ripley, William Z. *The Trunk Line Rate System: A Distance Tariff.* Pp. 28. Price 75 cents. Boston: The Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1906.

McLean, S. J. *The English Railway and Canal Commission of 1888.* Pp. 58. Price 75 cents. Boston: The Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, 1905.

The earnest effort that is being made by the American people and by Congress to solve the problem of governmental regulation of railway transportation has resulted in the production of several books and papers by technical and academic writers. This review is concerned with three books and two papers whose importance demands more than a passing notice.

Mr. Henry S. Haines, the author of the volume entitled "Restrictive Railway Legislation," is an engineer and railway manager of high standing. For a number of years Mr. Haines was vice-president and general manager of the Plant System of railroad and steamship lines. For a while Mr. Haines was commercial manager of the Southern States Freight Association and for some time he was president of the American Railway Association, for the development of which organization, he, more than anybody else, is entitled to credit. The volume on American Railway Management, published a few years since, contained a number of valuable and influential papers. The past record of Mr. Haines gives him a high rank among writers on railway transportation.

The present volume contains twelve lectures delivered in April and May, 1905, before the Boston University School of Law. The fact that the

chapters were written to be delivered as lectures accounts, in part at least, for the general and somewhat superficial treatment of the subjects considered. The lectures dealt with railway corporations, railroad finance, construction, operation, traffic, and rate making, and discussed the theory and practice of governmental regulation of railway rates in the United States.

The book is eminently fair and impartial. The work is not scholarly in the sense of being the result of the study of literature, but is practical in that it presents the results of a long and varied experience as railroad manager. Of the three books considered in this review, the book by Mr. Haines is unquestionably the best, despite the fact that the subjects discussed in the volume are not treated systematically. The historical portions of the book suffer from the author's inadequate study of the literature of transportation. The history of traffic associations and pooling is especially brief and superficial, and the account of the granger legislation is inadequate. Mr. Haines's views upon the burning question of Federal regulation of railroads are sound and conservative. He is of the opinion that a law empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to adjust rates will not work to the detriment of the railway interests, nor that such a law will transfer to the railway officials or to the commission the general business of rate making.

"The very fact that there were filed with the Commission in 1903 some 160,000 tariffs and over 250,000 concurrences in joint rates demonstrates the fallacy of such a notion. The Commission could assume no such general rate-making power, simply because it would be impracticable. Only in the cases in which the railroad companies acquiesced would the ideas of the Commission as to exact rates have any immediate effect; for in the other cases, in which the railroad management felt that the orders of the Commission were erroneous, they would have all the protection afforded to any other interest which may be affected injuriously by restrictive legislation.

"Indeed, the action taken by the railroad managements recently, in voluntarily submitting the adjustment of differentials at the North Atlantic ports to arbitration by members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, rather precludes them from questioning the competency of the Commission, *in banco*, to fix just and reasonable rates, since this is one of the rate problems most difficult of adjustment,—one which the managers of our most important lines had confessedly been unable to determine among themselves."

The author of the work on "American Railroad Rates" is Judge Walter C. Noyes of the Court of Common Pleas of Connecticut. Judge Noyes is the president of a small local railroad company, and the author of a volume on "The Law of Intercompany Relations." His book on railroad rates contains ten chapters in which he discusses the theory and practice of rate making, classification of freight, discrimination, competition, and State and Federal regulation.

Judge Noyes's book is sound in principle, impartial in spirit, and clear in statement, but its value is lessened by the fact that it is in greater part an elementary presentation of what has been more fully stated by more

than one previous writer. Indeed, it is difficult to understand why the volume was written, except upon the theory that many books upon the same subject are better than a few.

The discussion of freight classification constitutes a good feature of the book and is the best presentation that has yet been made of that subject. General students of railroad rates are under obligations to Judge Noyes for the information contained in this portion of his volume.

The most interesting chapters of Judge Noyes's book, and indeed the only part of the volume which may lay claim to originality, is that in which he discusses the power of the State and Federal governments as regards the regulation of railroad rates. The author draws a sharp distinction between reasonable and confiscatory rates. He holds that the courts have the power to condemn a rate fixed by a carrier if the rate is *unreasonable*, but when the rate is one fixed by legislation the courts can only decide whether or not the charge thus fixed is *confiscatory*. In the discussion of this question he uses the following language:

"The courts, under the common law, have power to pass upon the reasonableness of the charges of common carriers. In determining the question of reasonableness, the courts must consider all the factors entering into the rate. They may substitute their judgment of a just and proper charge for that of the carrier. But the courts cannot substitute their judgment of a reasonable rate in place of that of the legislature or the legislature's subordinate body. The act of the legislature in fixing a rate is a law that such shall be the rate. The courts can no more question its expediency or propriety than in the case of any other law. It is immaterial whether they think, under all the circumstances, that it should have been greater or less. The courts have nothing to do with legislative-made rates except to determine whether they violate constitutional provisions. The inquiry is whether the rates prescribed by law are so unreasonably low as to infringe the property rights of the railroad. The duty of the courts is to determine whether the rates are confiscatory, not whether they are fair between shipper and carrier."

. . . "And it makes no difference that the statute empowering the commission to act provides that rates shall be reasonable and just. This is a general rule for the commission, but the discretion to be exercised in determining what rates *are* reasonable and just is the discretion of the commission upon which the discretionary power has been conferred, and not of the courts upon which the power has not been conferred. If a definite standard were prescribed according to which rates should be made by a commission—e. g. that they should be two cents per ton-mile, the courts might be called upon to determine whether the commission had departed from the rule and thereby exceeded its delegated powers. But the courts could not substitute their opinion of reasonableness—where there is no definite standard—for that of the commission unless the limit of confiscation were reached. And this for two reasons based upon the same principles:

"(1) The courts cannot participate directly or indirectly in the exercise of the legislative rate-making function.

"(2) The courts cannot interfere with the exercise of legislative power except upon constitutional grounds."

Judge Noyes takes the ground that a commission cannot be given the power to pass upon the reasonableness of an existing rate because the determination of a controversy involving "the reasonableness of an existing rate" is a judicial function, and "judicial and legislative functions cannot be combined." This exposition of the law is in accordance neither with the practice of the American States nor with the theories of the powers of the Congress as expounded by Senator Knox and other leading lawyers of the United States Senate.

The above interpretation of the powers of Congress and the courts leads Judge Noyes to advocate an interesting plan of governmental regulation of railroad rates. His method would be the creation of a special court to try complaints regarding railroad charges. If rates thus complained of were found to be reasonable, the complainants would have no further action. "If the rates were found to be unreasonable, the court would be empowered to enjoin further collection of the rate, and it would become the duty of the court to send the papers in the case, together with the evidence, to the Interstate Commerce Commission which should be empowered, upon inspection of the papers, to then make a maximum rate to take the place of that found unreasonable by the court. The rate prescribed should remain in force a prescribed time, but should be subject to modification by the commission. No hearing before the commission would be necessary or expedient. Speedy action would be possible and should be required."

This plan of governmental regulation is open to the criticism not only of being based upon a questionable interpretation of the powers of the Congress under the Constitution, but also of being a method that would probably not work satisfactorily. To compel a complainant to establish the fact of an unreasonable rate by the ordinary processes of the courts, and then to wait for the commission to pass upon the questions of fact that had been before the court and to reach a decision, would so delay the settlement of the controversy as to deter most shippers from endeavoring to seek a remedy. Moreover, the functions of the commission would become so unimportant that the court would become the real investigator of the facts, whereas the law intends that the facts should be investigated by a non-judicial body such as the commission.

Professor H. R. Meyer's book on "Government Regulation of Railway Rates" has attracted wide attention, and has been much discussed because it presents a vigorous argument against the extension of governmental authority at a time when that subject is the leading public question. The author is one of the few economists who believe in the "regime of individualism," or governmental non-interference. Unfortunately the author is temperamentally a doctrinaire and an advocate. His book evinces a great amount of study, but the results of his labor are greatly injured by the author's unscientific spirit.

The general problem of governmental interference in the matter of railroad charges is excellently stated in the opening paragraph of the

Introduction to the book: "The problem of the public regulation of railway rates is threefold. It involves: first, the question of personal discriminations by means of secret departures from the published rates; secondly, the question of the reasonableness of rates *per se*; and, lastly, the question of the relative reasonableness of rates. Lack of space compels the dismissal of the first and second questions with a few brief statements."

Professor Meyer is altogether correct in saying that the great problem of governmental regulation is that of securing the relative reasonableness of rates. Professor Meyer's book, however, is written not to state all the facts upon both sides of a controverted question, but rather to prove the following thesis, also contained in the Introduction of his book: "Every effective effort to regulate railway rates in general will arrest the decline of rates, by producing a dead-lock of conflicting sectional interests, will prevent the railways from developing a volume of traffic sufficiently large to justify the maintenance or the building of railways of the highest attainable efficiency, will check the development of the resources of the country, and will demoralize the politics of the country."

The first half of the volume is devoted to a survey of the methods and results of governmental regulation of railways in foreign countries—Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Danubian Principalities, Russia and Australia. About one half of the space given to foreign countries is taken up with a discussion of the Prussian railway policy.

The author's vigorous condemnation of the railway policy of Prussia and other foreign countries loses much of its force from the fact that the author has never visited any of the countries under consideration; he has never seen what he is discussing. Doubtless the polemic would—in spite of the author's preconceived antipathy to State interference—have been much milder had he studied foreign railway management on the ground, and had he gotten his information regarding each country directly from the law-makers, state officials, and railway managers who are responsible for the railroad policy under investigation. This method of study would also have enabled the author to avoid numerous errors of fact and judgment contained in his volume. Prof. B. H. Meyer of Madison, Wis., who is the best informed man in the United States regarding the German railway management, has pointed out in a long article in the *Journal of Political Economy* for February, 1906, a large number of mistakes in the facts contained in Prof. H. R. Meyer's book. In view of the criticism by Prof. B. H. Meyer it is unnecessary to enumerate in detail the errors contained in Part I of the volume under review.

Part II of the book is concerned with the railroad problem in the United States. The first four chapters of this half of the book are unquestionably the best in the volume. They contain a concise and in most respects an accurate, account of the geography of American industry and trade. The last six chapters of the book deal with the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission and are the weakest portion of the volume. From a literary point of view these chapters are especially defective, because of inexcusable padding. Page after page is devoted to quotations from the decisions of the

Supreme Court when a brief statement of the conclusion reached by the Court would have been preferable. The discussion contained in the two hundred pages devoted to the Interstate Commerce Commission would have been greatly improved had it been reduced to one hundred pages in length.

Method of treatment, however, is unimportant as compared with the content of what is said. The author's bias distorts his view, causes him to state only such facts as bear out his contentions, and leads him to misrepresent totally the work of the commission. The following paragraph near the end of the volume will illustrate the character of the author's discussion of the activity of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

"The foregoing review of the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission has shown that the commission has condemned all but one of the rate practices by means of which the railways have made themselves the most powerful single factor in the development of the resources, industry and trade of our country. That single exception was the approval of the practice of giving Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the other northern Atlantic ports differentials which permitted those ports to become competitors of New York City in the export of agricultural products and of manufactures. It is important to note that that approval came after the Supreme Court had completely reversed the commission in *Interstate Commerce Commission vs. Texas and Pacific Railroad Company* (162 U. S. 197) and *Interstate Commerce Commission vs. Alabama Midland Railway Company* (168 U. S. 144) and had instructed the commission that the Act to Regulate Commerce was enacted for the purpose of promoting trade, not for the purpose of throttling it. In the interpretation of that act, the court had said that due consideration must be given to all the interests affected, and that attention must not be fixed exclusively upon the interest represented by the complainant."

A grosser misrepresentation could hardly be made of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the policy it has followed in dealing with the great question of the adjustment of rates.

The chapters in Prof. Meyer's book that have attracted the most attention are those in which he condemns the railway rate policy followed by the Prussian Government. He contends that Prussia has enforced distance tariffs, that the rates have been inflexible, and that the industrial growth of the country has greatly suffered thereby. The most complete answer to this indictment is made by Professor William Z. Ripley in his admirable paper on "The Trunk Line Rate System: A Distance Tariff."

"The trunk line freight rate system effectively demonstrates certain principles in railway economics which are of importance at the present time in connection with the problem of Federal regulation." . . . "The fallacy of certain objections to governmental control is revealed with corresponding clearness. Three principles in particular deserve mention in this connection. These are (1) that the element of distance should be a prime factor in the final adjustment of rates between competing localities; (2) that co-operation and agreement between competing carriers are essential to any comprehensively fair system; and (3) that permanency and stability of rates are of equal importance with elasticity. . . . "That distance tariffs, modified

in part to suit commercial conditions, are not only theoretically sound, but entirely practicable, this study aims to prove. The bogey of German rate schedules vanishes into thin air when it appears that the greatest railway companies in the United States have for years adopted the same principles in working out their tariffs."

Prof. Ripley's essay is an important contribution to the discussion of railway rates in the United States. The paper states the causes which led to the system of rates prevailing in trunk line territory; explains and charts the rate percentages prevailing in different parts of this section of the country; and shows that the rates on classified freight in this, the most important traffic territory in the United States, in reality rest upon a zone distance basis. This system of tariffs was worked out many years ago and only minor changes in detail have since been made.

Prof. S. J. McLean of Leland Stanford Jr. University is well known to students of transportation as a result of the investigations which he made for the Canadian Government concerning the governmental regulation of railroads. His paper on "The English Railway and Canal Commission of 1888" is in reality a short monograph fifty-eight printed pages in length. It contains the first thorough presentation in English of the work of the British Railway and Canal Commission. The essay opens with an account of British legislation from 1873 to 1888, and then discusses the manner in which the British Commission, acting under the law of 1888, has dealt with "terminals, reasonable facilities, and through rates." The third part of the essay discusses the question of "undue preference," while the fourth part of the essay explains the nature of the British Commission's "control over actual rates." The fifth and sixth parts of the essay discuss the personnel and work accomplished by the commission. Tables appended to the paper present in detail the "subject matter of the applications" made to the commission, the "cases withdrawn or settled either in court or outside," and the "cases appealed from the railway and canal commission." The essay ends with a brief comparison of the British and American railway commissions.

Scientific impartiality characterizes Prof. McLean's paper in every part. The author's investigation has been thorough, and the publication of the essay at the present time is most opportune.

University of Pennsylvania.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

Hunt, William and Poole, Reginald Lane (Editors). *The Political History of England*, in twelve volumes. Vol. I, From the earliest Times to 1066, by Thomas Hodgkin; Vol. II, 1066-1216, by George B. Adams; Vol. III, 1216-1377, by T. F. Tout. Price \$2.60 per volume. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

The general character and ideals of this series have been already discussed in a review of the first volume that appeared,¹ and our present task, therefore, is restricted to a notice of volumes one, two, and three of the series, which have appeared during the last few months. These three volumes cover the period from the earliest times continuously to the year 1377, thus

¹ *Annals* Vol. xvii, p. 437.

reestablishing the chronological order which it is so desirable to follow in any historical work.

The first impression made by these volumes is that the publishers of the series did not "put their best foot foremost," when they published the tenth volume first. Either of these three would have made a better impression, preferably, the first. Mr. Hodgkin, better than Mr. Hunt, fulfils the promise of the prospectus to make use of recently acquired material and to take advantage of recent teaching. His book is not so intensely English. He does not insist on beginning English history with the landing of the Anglo-Saxons, nor even relegate the earliest history of the island to a few perfunctory pages. On the contrary he has a suggestive outline of the results of investigation of prehistoric races, and a vigorous and adequate narrative of the Roman period. On the difficult question of the "two lost centuries," the fifth and sixth, of which we know so nearly nothing, Mr. Hodgkin also takes a liberal and judicial position. Indeed, his summing up of the testimony of the Roman, Teutonic and Celtic sources and his discussion of the probability that the English race is properly Anglo-Celtic, are as masterly as they are interesting. So through the volume we find scholarly, moderate, and wise treatment of the problems of the early history of England. There is moreover a constant flow of humor or at least of mental alertness which is almost as attractive as Green's fire and eloquence, and yet lends itself much better to accurate historical statement. For instance he speaks of the writers of the Saxon Chronicle as "trying to make the bricks of history without the straw of genuine chronology," and of the few facts that Gildas "imparts to us between sob and sob over the wickedness of the world." Altogether, the volume of Dr. Hodgkin is the most satisfactory single account now in existence of the period of English history up to the Norman Conquest. The usual two or three maps accompanying each volume are in this case two original maps of Roman and Saxon England respectively. There seems no sufficient reason for omitting the wide spreading forests of the Saxon period from the map of Roman Britain. As a matter of fact, the whole early history of the country until far through the middle ages, was the history of a few open spots intervening between vast areas of forest and swamp, and this was quite as true of Roman as of later times. And is it not an unfortunate anachronism to place on a map of Roman Britain such names for the roads as "Watling Street" and "Icknield Way," which were not used till centuries after the Romans had disappeared? Much other fault could be found with the maps, which are traditional and far from satisfactory.

The second volume of the series, covering the period from 1066 to 1216, by Professor George B. Adams, is the only volume written by an American author, but American scholarship is abundantly safe in his hands. His narrative has less ease of style than the preceding work, but it is clear and direct. Nowhere is there a better brief account of the movements of William the Conqueror after he entered England, and other narrative portions are equally readable and reliable. Incidentally he states the same disbelief

in William's intentional scattering of the estates of the Norman barons which has been affirmed by most recent students. In the institutional discussions, Professor Adams repeats views which he has already expressed and which have aroused controversy on a number of constitutional and economic questions. He is one of those writers on the feudal system who put more emphasis on the second word of that expression than do most of his modern colleagues. That is to say he supposes a more systematic and conscious conception of feudal law and institutions in the minds of the men of the mediæval centuries than do most other students. Closely connected with this view is his tendency to minimize all the embryonic feudal growths of the Saxon period and to declare roundly that feudalism was introduced into England by the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless his statement of that position made here is very moderate and his distinction between the political and economic elements in the land tenure of the time is an illuminating and suggestive one. Professor Adams's discussion of the Great Charter also follows the lines of his earlier work, pointing out what is certainly true that we have read into that document much that was not in the minds of those who drew it up and agreed to it. Yet it is of great importance notwithstanding its negative character, perhaps on account of it. The fact that a reluctant king was compelled to confess that he had broken the law, to acknowledge that he was as much bound as any of his subjects to obey the law, to promise that in future he would obey it, and to agree that the nobles, the only other effective political body in the state, should compel him to do so,—this certainly was an occurrence of vast significance, even though the specific terms in which this result was attained were relatively insignificant. The author expresses this well, and points out that the grant of the Great Charter brings to an end the rapid development of an almost uncontrolled centralized monarchy that had been in progress during the last three reigns, and ushers in a period when constitutional growth of another kind becomes practicable and actual.

The third volume, by Professor T. F. Tout of the University of Manchester, includes the reorganization of the kingdom after the civil war and the interdict of John's time, the new struggles and civil war under Henry III, the great legislative, constitutional, and military reign of Edward I, and the first half of the Hundred Years' War. This is a time to which more study has been devoted by foreign students, especially those of France, than some others, and of these studies the author has made good use, as well as of his own detailed work within its bounds. It is a pity that the narrative has to be closed at such an incomplete period as that in which this volume leaves it, but the next author will unquestionably need his whole volume to cover the century still remaining in the middle ages.

A word must be said as to the bibliographical appendices to these volumes. They are unique in historical works of this kind, consisting not of a complete list of either primary or secondary authorities in their respective periods, nor yet of just the works actually used by the author in his writing. They are rather essays on the sources and writings for the period, accom-

panied by abundant titles and references. They show very clearly the mastery of the respective periods possessed by each author and are much more like French or American than like English work. Although somewhat inadequate for the professional historian and somewhat detailed for the general reader, they are on the whole of great interest and practical usefulness—which is probably quite the highest praise that can be given to a bibliography.

Indeed this must be the verdict on the whole series, so far as it can be judged from the one-third of it which has now appeared. It is certainly not an epoch-making work, it is certainly not a pioneer into new paths, it gives no new outlook into English history or new synthesis of its elements; but it is full, clear, scholarly, moderate, and useful.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Johnson, Joseph French. *Money and Currency.* Pp. viii, 398. Price \$1.75. Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1906.

Professor Johnson has rendered a valuable service in his, scholarly, and at the same time practical, discussion of the money problem. He has made a book which is simple in language and readable, and will therefore prove of high value in the class-room. His experience as a practical instructor has naturally qualified him to adapt his book to such needs, and his ability to do this has not been lessened by his early experience as financial editor of the Chicago Tribune and in practical affairs.

Professor Johnson follows the most careful writers by limiting the use of the word "money" to the metallic money of ultimate redemption and separating it, even in his title, from the more general term "currency." He groups his definitions early in the work, instead of scattering them through the chapters where the various subjects are discussed. He agrees with other recent writers in qualifying the quantity theory of money by giving due recognition to the variable nature of the demand for money and subjects to careful analysis the influences upon which demand for money depends.

Among the best features of the book is the discussion of the interplay of the various forces which determine the rate of interest, with proper distinctions between capital and money, and between the rate of interest on permanent loans and on call loans. This is a subject which by many writers on money has not been very satisfactorily presented. The manner in which the rate of interest has been discussed has carried the implication, perhaps unintentionally, that rates for the use of capital and money were the same and influenced by the same causes. Probably few economists would really maintain such a view, but Professor Johnson is entitled to the credit of setting forth plainly the distinctions which exist between different forms of loans. It is the mark of a fine mind that it is capable of making closer and closer distinctions between things which appear roughly to be alike, but are in fact essentially different. The failure to make such distinctions has been the cause of costly and absurd errors by bankers and economists, and every step which serves to differentiate the different forms of demand for money and capital serves at the same time to give greater accuracy in reasoning from

cause to effect. Professor Johnson has rendered valuable service in this respect.

Like Professor Pierson in his admirable "*Principles of Economics*," and many other careful students, Professor Johnson is attracted by the economic harmonies of the theory of international bimetallism. If there is any criticism to be made upon the proportions of his book, it is in the emphasis laid upon this subject, but at the close of the discussion it is admitted that:

"Since 1900, however, these theoretic considerations have possessed no practical importance, for the increase in the output of gold has given gold-using nations such an abundance of money, and caused such a rise of prices, that international bimetallism as a political issue is dead. In 1905 the problem is, not how to keep prices from falling, but how to guard against the intoxicating influence of rising prices."

One of the subjects to which Professor Johnson gives special consideration is that of fiat money. His conclusion is that the greenbacks during the Civil War "were essentially fiat money, getting their value from their utility as money rather than from the Government promise they bore." This is in accordance with the best modern thought and is supported by diagrams and statistics, proving the fluctuation in the value of such money under varying conditions of demand. A sketch is given of the history of fiat money in Austria, Russia and other countries.

In this connection Professor Johnson makes an effort to connect monetary experience with token coins with the principles of bimetallism. There is indeed an approximation towards bimetallism in the management of the token silver money which is now the common medium of exchange in British India, Mexico, the Philippines, Panama and some other countries. There is a distinction, however, between bimetallism in its accepted theoretical form of the free coinage of either metal at the will of the holder, and the method of control over the output of token coins which is the essence of the gold exchange system of these countries. The more moderate opponents of bimetallism have never denied that the creation of a large market for silver, by throwing open the mints to its equal coinage with gold, would raise its value. Their reason for denying the possibility of continuing bimetallism has been based upon the principle to which Professor Johnson refers in his preface,—that the demand for certain forms of money is subject to wide variations. It is for this reason that definite rigidity of relationship between two forms cannot be assured by legislation. The policy of issuing token coins redeemable in gold or in gold exchange gives the demand for money free play, but puts a restraining influence upon the creation of a supply in excess of demand by limiting the issues to the amount which can be kept equal to gold. In this respect, it is a bastard bimetallism only, but it is its departure from the true bimetallic theory which constitutes its safety and advantage. Professor Johnson recognizes the importance of the extension to Mexico and other countries of the gold exchange standard, whose existence has been treated with so much heavy levity by some of the older-fashioned critics of recent works on the subject.

This work of Professor Johnson is limited to money as such. If it is

followed by a similar work on banking, as he proposes, the two volumes will afford a comprehensive and up-to-date presentation of the monetary and banking problem.

New York.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

Smith, F. E. and Sibley, N. W. *International Law as Interpreted During the Russo-Japanese War.* Pp. xi, 494. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Imported by Boston Book Co., 1905.

This is a useful but hardly an authoritative work, by two English barristers, designed to discuss those questions of international law raised during the late conflict between Russia and Japan. Many such questions were brought to the front mainly by the action of Russia and some of which were entirely new. But the real significance of the war from the standpoint of international law, say the authors, was the indifference with which Russia treated the rights of neutrals as those rights had hitherto been understood. Her principal offenses were her refusal to recognize any distinction between absolute and conditional contraband, in placing coal, cotton and food stuffs on the contraband list and in making destination instead of use the test of liability to capture; her claim to destroy neutral vessels before condemnation by a prize court; her infringement of Chinese neutrality; her use of criminal convicts as volunteers; her indiscriminate planting of mines outside of territorial waters and her claim to treat newspaper correspondents as spies. In addition to these offenses against the law of nations she is charged with violating the Declaration of Paris and the treaties closing the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, by sending volunteer cruisers through those straits to prey upon neutral vessels; with violating the provisions of the Hague Convention relating to the treatment of prisoners of war; and with violating the customary usages of modern warfare so far as they relate to enemy subjects. At the outbreak of hostilities all enemy subjects were expelled from the viceroyalty of the East without opportunity to wind up their business affairs and dispose of their property, and enemy merchant vessels were allowed only 48 hours to leave Russian ports. This illiberal policy may be contrasted with the action of Japan and with that of the United States during the War with Spain, although the authors make no reference to it. Where the Russian government allowed 48 hours for the departure of enemy vessels Japan allowed seven days and the United States allowed 30 days (Proc. of Pres. McKinley April 26, 1898) and the capture of such vessels on their return voyage to Spain was forbidden unless they carried contraband of war. Furthermore Spanish merchant vessels which had cleared for a port of the United States before the outbreak of hostilities were allowed to enter such port, discharge their cargoes and depart without molestation. Finally this already liberal rule was extended by a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the *Buena Ventura*. Instead of expelling Russian subjects from Japanese territory the Japanese government allowed them to remain upon the sole condition that they register according to rules prescribed by the government. The only serious offense committed by Japan against the rights of neutrals during the war was the cutting out of the *Ryeshetelni* from the neutral

port of Chefoo—an act which the Japanese attempted to justify, on the ground that the Chinese government persistently allowed its ports to be made harbors of refuge which the Russian ports did not afford. With the exception of this incident and the further charge that the Japanese were guilty of violating the Geneva convention in firing upon a Red Cross train, a charge which the Japanese emphatically denied, Japan's conduct throughout the war was strictly in accord with the most enlightened usages of modern warfare. The Russian charge that the Japanese were guilty of treachery as well as a flagrant breach of international law in beginning hostilities in advance of a formal notification was, as the authors clearly show, entirely without justification and they might have added it was made with ill grace, for Russia's own invasions of Finland in 1809 and of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1877 were begun before a declaration of hostilities. The truth is Japan's action in formally breaking off negotiations several days in advance of hostilities was equivalent to a declaration of war and was all and even more than the usages of war require. It deserves to be said to the credit of the Czar, a fact which the authors overlook in their apparent desire to make as black a case for Russia as possible, that shortly after the beginning of hostilities he issued an order announcing that the government in prosecuting hostilities would observe the Geneva convention, the Declaration of St. Petersburg, two of the Hague Conventions and the three Declarations of the Hague Conference relative to the interdiction of certain implements of warfare. As a signatory of these instruments the Russian government was, of course, bound to observe them but in going out of the way to make public proclamation of the fact (which the Mikado did not) the Czar gave evidence of his desire that the war should be conducted in accordance with the most humane usages of warfare. It should also be said that there were no serious infractions of these rules by the Russians throughout the war. The Russian doctrine of contraband is freely discussed by the authors though not in an entirely satisfactory manner. It would have been interesting to compare the Russian practice with that of the United States during the war with Spain when coal was made contraband only when destined for a naval station, a port of call or a ship or ships of the enemy, and provisions were likewise to be condemned only when destined for the ships of the enemy or for a besieged place, thus recognizing a clear distinction between articles intended for hostile use and innocent use. Under the Russian doctrine a cargo of soft coal intended for use in the cotton factories of Osaka was liable to condemnation equally with a cargo of anthracite intended for the Japanese navy and so was a consignment of cotton intended for the manufacture of clothing for non-combatants equally with cotton intended for the manufacture of explosives. The authors might have pointed out Russia's inconsistency in putting coal on the contraband list in the late war, for it is a matter of record that at the West African Conference of 1884 the Russian delegate went out of his way to protest vigorously against the inclusion of coal among articles of contraband and declared that his government would categorically refuse its consent to any convention which should recognize coal as such.

The authors have included a chapter on wireless telegraphy in war, the greater part of which is devoted to a discussion of the action of the *London Times* correspondent in sending messages by this method. Curiously enough nothing is said of the action of the Russians while besieged at Port Arthur in communicating by wireless message with the Russian Consulate at the neutral port of Chefoo 75 miles distant, at which place a receiving station had been erected. The right of a neutral to permit the erection of a station within its territory for the receipt of messages for the use of a belligerent was thus for the first time raised in a war and should and probably will receive consideration from the forthcoming Hague Conference.

The chief criticism of the work under review is that it omits much that should be included and includes much that should be left out. There is an appendix of nearly one hundred pages although the rules of war issued by the two belligerents are not included. Nowhere is there any mention of the Hay note for the localization and limitation of the area of hostilities which was approved by all the great powers, including the belligerents themselves. There is a long chapter on international arbitration which contains an unsatisfactory review of the recent cases brought before the Hague Tribunal. This chapter might well have been omitted for there was no instance of arbitration during the war. The submission of the question of the Dogger Bank incident to an international commission of inquiry in pursuance of the Hague Convention was an important feature of the war but it was not a case of arbitration. There is also a hundred page chapter on the law of blockade although this branch of international law was not drawn in question during the war. Finally the work bears evidence of haste in preparation and carelessness of writing. Newspaper reports, chiefly dispatches to the *London Times*, are the main sources of information for the discussion of the international questions raised during the war. No treatise based on such sources can be regarded as final and authoritative.

University of Illinois.

JAMES W. GARNER.

Spargo, John. *The Bitter Cry of the Children.* Pp. viii, 337. Price \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906.

"There have been many books written about the children of the poor, but, none of them gives us so impressive a statement as is contained here of the most important and powerful cause of poverty." This prefatory judgment of Robert Hunter will be passed on by every one who reads of underfed children as described by Mr. Spargo. The book will live and will set hundreds of teachers and social workers and philanthropists to work in villages and cities throughout the country.

Socialism has many aspects. We are accustomed to draw arbitrary lines between the socialism we approve,—public schools, hospitals, dispensaries, postal service and the socialism we abhor,—community ownership of means of production. When Mr. Spargo suggests compulsory free meals for school children, he is met with the cry of Socialism, which only calls forth a smile and a request for a substitute. Whatever our feeling as to the remedy for starved and half-starved children we are grateful for the vivid, scholarly way

in which this book marshals the experience of two continents in awaking to the physical needs of the children who are compelled to be in school though unfit for schooling.

As epidemics of cholera and plague and Paris fashions cross the ocean, so such agitations as that which elected labor leaders to Parliament on "School Meals" platforms will not spend themselves until we have taken up the problem in earnest. We must substitute systematic and thorough physical examination of school children for perfunctory "going over 2,000 in twenty minutes." When men like Dr. Cronin in New York have records of 40,000 children needing medical care, 25,000 seriously needing dental care, thousands rejected for tuberculosis, etc., we are going to demand that this information be used promptly for the benefit, not of science, but first of these children. If private philanthropy is unequal to the task of supplying shoes, clothing, home meals, eye-glasses, dental care, then, shall our cities pay the bills?

The experience of New York will probably be duplicated elsewhere as the American public is aroused to the condition of the children of the poor. The trustees of Bellevue and allied hospitals were recently asked by two charitable societies to establish dental clinics. The condition of 20,000 children was accepted, the experience of Strassburg and other foreign cities read, but the trustees did not believe they were justified in spending public funds for this purpose until every effort had been made to solve the problem in other ways, referring to family dentist and education of parents. So in American cities the chief immediate result of Mr. Spargo's graphic exposition of the needs of the American child of the poor and European methods of insuring a sound body, will probably be a series of investigations and experiments that will get together first-hand facts for each community regarding its own needs and its resources.

School teachers need this book, social workers, librarians, pastors, editors, all who want to understand the problem of poverty or education. It will help man find his brother even though man be an employer of child labor. It is not only readable, it contains illustrations and facts that are matters of record, absolutely proved. The appendices are valuable for their story of Europe's experience, even though this gives but the positive favorable testimony. Anyone wanting the other side may get it direct from Mr. Spargo or by writing the "*Manchester Guardian*." That Mr. Spargo presents the dominant need at present is evidenced by editorials in the London "*Times*," the "*Spectator*," etc., apparently accepting as proved the statement made in this book regarding Continental Europe. Where American facts are given the author states clearly the basis and the limitations. Such candor and such handling of data are rare, with chapter headings such as "The Blighting of the Babies"; "The School Child"; "The Working Child"; "Remedial Measures"; "Blossoms and Babies." Even though convinced that the remedy—school or communal meals, instead of better home conditions—is worse than the disease, malnutrition or undernutrition, the reader will be grateful for the presentation of the "Bitter Cry of the Children." Whether existing means will suffice is to be tested this next year in New York by a committee of the Association for Improving the Condition of

the Poor, known as Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children, which has a special fund for coöperating with the Department of Health and Department of Education in a thorough investigation of two neighborhoods, securing adequate relief of every description and exhausting present means of caring for children found to be needy.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

New York City.

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PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

1906

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PREFACE

This volume comprises a series of papers specially prepared by the leading officers and representative workers of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This organization now contains five thousand clubs, organized in forty-six state federations, with an aggregate membership of eight hundred thousand women. This includes clubs of all kinds, literary clubs and special societies, some with very definite and some with very general aims and purposes. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that this organization with its state federations, its great biennial conventions and its well developed machinery for reaching the homes of America, is one of the most potent influences for good or ill in the social and political life of the nation.

It is not intended in this volume to offer an apology for the existence of any or all of these clubs, but it has seemed to the editors a desirable thing to bring together, if possible, a brief statement of what these clubs have done and what the federation as a whole has done during the past ten years, especially in the general fields of philanthropy and charity, education and civic work. The editors, therefore, asked the officers of the Federation, who have very kindly co-operated with them in this endeavor, to secure from persons who could speak authoritatively a brief and fair discussion of the aims, tendencies and results of the woman's club movement, and to treat this question geographically, as the work in various sections of the country has necessarily been subject to different lines of development and responsive to different influences.

It is to be regretted that through a misunderstanding with one of the writers, who would have gladly co-operated in this work, there is no article representing the clubs of the Northwest. All the other sections of the country have been considered as originally planned. One article containing the opinions of various representative men concerning the woman's club movement, the opinions, collected officially by the General Federation a little over a year ago, is the only one that may seem to have a controversial tone and to

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depart from the general purpose of this volume, but inasmuch as it throws many sidelights upon the development of the club movement as a whole, it has been included.

An important contribution though not part of the volume as originally planned, is found in Miss Goldmark's article on "Working Women and the Laws." The briefer communications contain several addresses and reports which refer to, but do not adequately cover the work of the recent biennial convention held in St. Paul in May 1906. Several other papers and the usual departments of notes are included in this volume, being pertinent to, though not directly connected with the general topic under consideration.

Our special thanks are due to Mrs. May Alden Ward, Second Vice President of the General Federation, and editor of the Federation Bulletin, its official organ, for general editorial assistance in the collection and preparation of these papers for the press; and also to Mrs. Sarah S. Platt Decker, President of the Federation, for her enthusiastic co-operation in all stages of the preparation of the volume.

It is our hope that the volume as a whole will have some permanent value to those interested in the growth of the woman's club movement and will furnish to the members of the Academy an authoritative statement concerning its achievement and its possibilities.

THE EDITORS.

THE MEANING OF THE WOMAN'S CLUB MOVEMENT

BY SARAH S. PLATT DECKER

President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The History of the Woman's Club Movement by Mrs. J. C. Croly (Jennie June) contains this passage in one of the opening chapters:

"The woman has been the one isolated fact in the universe. The outlook upon the world, the means of education, the opportunities for advancement, had all been denied her. . . . The opportunity came, with the awakening of the communal spirit, the recognition of the law of solidarity of interests, the sociologic advance which established a basis of equality among a wide diversity of conditions and individualities, and opportunities for all, capable of using them. This great advance was not confined to a society or a neighborhood; it did not require subscription to a tenet, or the giving up of one's mode of life. It was simply the change of a point of view, the opening of a door, the stepping out into the freedom of the outer air, and the sweet sense of fellowship that comes with liberty and light. The difference was only a point of view but it changed the aspect of the world."

This new note, which meant for the woman, liberty, breadth, and unity, was struck by the Woman's Club.

To the term "club" as applied to, and by women, may be fitly referred the words in which John Addington Symonds defines "Renaissance." "This," he remarks, "is not explained by this or that characteristic, but as an effort for which at length the time had come."

To rehearse even in the most cursory manner, the history and growth of the Woman's Club Movement, would be out of place, in a publication of this kind. Suffice it to say, that from the small beginning of the union of a few scattered literary clubs, called together by "Sorosis," of New York, in 1889, came the

following year, the organization of the "General Federation of Women's Clubs," the great State Federations, sometimes numbering forty thousand in membership, and the wonderful increase in individual club organization. Today the General Federation has a membership of approximately five hundred thousand women, extending into almost every town and city in our own land, and embracing in its union, clubs in nearly every foreign country.

It was soon evident to the leaders and students of this "Renaissance," so eagerly embraced, so instantly grasped, so greedily absorbed, that literary study, and mutual and self-improvement alone, as a foundation would not build a permanent structure. Gradually, but, surely and sanely, the women of the Federation are coming to believe that this union of forces is here, not a happening, not for a few years, but that it is a part of the plan of the world, that it is a great helpful, uplifting influence for the making of the Kingdom, the Kingdom of enlarged opportunities of higher ideals, of the redeeming spirit which can have no better word expression than the motto of the Federation:

"Unity in Diversity."

At the present time a stage of evolution has been reached, by which the outside work of the Federation is carried on by twelve standing committees. To enumerate all the achievements of the General Federation thru these committees would be impossible, but a glance at a few of their activities may not be without interest.

The Art Committee has sent hundreds of pictures over the country for schools, libraries, and into remote and lonely homes. Great practical sermons have been preached by loan exhibitions of originals, by classes under the supervision of the clubs, by preaching the doctrine of "good art or no art" in the decoration of public buildings, the erection of monuments, park gates, drinking fountains, etc. Perhaps the most far-reaching work inspired by the Federation, has been the placing of works of art upon the walls of public schools and the formation of School Art Leagues. In one small territory where distances were great, and educational facilities most limited, every school received two fine pictures through the generous efforts of the club women of the territory. One large department club in a Western City, has expended ten thousand dollars in schoolroom decoration; exam-

ples of this kind could be given in great numbers. The next step asked of Clubs and Federations will be the endeavor to have a Municipal Art Commission in every small town, to serve without salary, to be composed of men and women of experience and cultivation, so that the adornment of municipalities may be in the hands of experts, and not left to the selection of supervisors or aldermen, who may happen to be in office upon the crest of a partisan wave. This will be the keystone in the laying of a foundation to make America artistic, as a Nation. Under the head of "Civics" there is almost no limit to the work done by Clubs and Federations, in beautifying streets, in studying and carrying out sanitary measures, in establishing parks and municipal play grounds, in preserving sacred historical spots and natural glories. Two notable examples of the work of the Clubs in the latter instance, are the protection of the Palisades, and the establishment of the "Mesa Verde" National Park by the present Congress, for the preservation of the Cliff Dwellings in Colorado. Perhaps the best result of the Civics Committee work is the knowledge acquired by hygienic conditions which helps us to better our homes as well. This is a glimpse of the work of the Civic Committees. The third Committee on Civil Service Reform is comparatively new. It is not proposed to take up the great unsolved questions of National and Municipal Civil Service, but the scope of this Committee is to bring to citizens a careful study of the Institutions in which are housed, the Dependent, the Delinquent, and the Defective—the helpless members of the body politic. Hundreds of women and men as well, have given of their leisure, at the instigation of this Committee, to look into the condition of their State Institutions, to ask thru the press and public that only merit shall be considered, in the appointments, and that these helpless sisters and brothers shall no longer be victims of the spoils system. Much improvement and lasting interest has already been the result.

The Educational Committee is inducing a careful study of the conditions, not of your child and mine, but of all children. It has found millions of people who have no educational advantages in this good land of ours and is working to rouse public opinion to meet this mighty problem. The educational work in the Clubs has brought into loving relations, teacher and parent; been the

means of placing women upon School Boards, of obtaining rightful unpaid taxes to maintain schools, of establishing scholarships and of much other wonderful work.

The fifth Committee, called Household Economics, has endeavored to interest the women of the Federation in the practical problems confronting the housekeeper. The great majority of the members of the Clubs and Federations are the homemakers, the thoughtful, earnest mothers and wives, who are giving their best efforts to the solution of the problems of their own and their children's lives. They are the "Grand Army," the majority, the ninety per cent, who make the splendid, sturdy Americanism, which must be the hope of the future.

The Pure Food Committee, Number Six, is also of recent birth, but if its life shall continue to be as vigorous, as has been its early promise, it will indeed be said of it that it is "born well, and well born." Even the most absolute unbelievers in the public work of women have admitted that the work of the Federation through its Central and State Committees has been of potent influence in passing the Federal measure known as the Pure Food Bill. The next step will be an effort for similar legislation in the respective States, in order to make the National Law effective.

The Forestry Committee has a correspondent in each State Federation of which there are now forty-six. So valiant and increasing has been the warfare waged in this cause, that at the present time, nearly every State is aroused to the need of legislation and work for the protection of these necessary adjuncts to civilization and happiness—the woods and forests. The Industrial and Child Labor Committee deserves an entire article, if we would tell how it has gone into the lives of the workers, investigating, helping, giving a genuine uplift in hundreds of cases; coming now to demand a census of conditions from the nation itself.

Perhaps the most effective work done by this Committee has been the awakening of many States to the knowledge of the conditions of workers within their borders. State pride enters so largely into the composition of the American people, that it has been a long and arduous task to even obtain an admittance to the idea, that like commonwealths, individuals have grievous distempers, and need at times, even the surgeon's knife.

The Legislative Committee, in conjunction with the other Com-

mittees, has fought heroically for the Juvenile Court Laws, which now prevail in twenty-five States, for humane legislation, for the enactment of just property laws for women and children, and for the statutes which shall protect the Home and purify community and State. The Library Extension Committee: Perhaps at this moment, there are three hundred thousand books being sent over this land, books to the lonely, books to the ignorant, books to help and instruct and revive. In numbers of cases, the inception of a Carnegie Library Building, has been the small Woman's Club free library in the town or city. In one small State Federation of forty clubs in membership, thirty had founded free libraries, giving time, means, and most unselfish service in maintaining them. No greater advance can be made in the growth of a nation than by work of this nature, for the dissemination of good literature, means the overcoming of ignorance, and its train of disaster and dynamite.

A new Committee, suggested at the recent Biennial will be called the "Outlook" Committee, to whom shall be referred for investigation new work or plans proposed to the Federation.

We can give only this glance at the work of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, omitting, as impossible to describe, the mighty stimulus given to literary study and work, by means of the respective literary clubs and Literature Committees. Not even glancing at the wonderful living value of the Federation, in bringing to women the community idea, the fellowship which rounds and develops character, the encouragement of the student habit thereby keeping the mother abreast of her children, the teaching of the real things of life, the giving of purpose and healthful activities, to many otherwise lonely or useless lives. These achievements may not be recorded by pen or print, but they will go far in the making of the coming men and women.

In the final estimate, if we define this organization, if we reply to the oft-repeated question, What is the purpose of the Federation we should answer: The General Federation of Women's Clubs is not a reform organization *per se*. It is broadly sympathetic with reform, but it is not a propaganda. It is not philanthropic distinctively, though one of the greatest agencies of the day for careful study of methods and genuine helpfulness in this direction. It is not purely sociological, though with living inter-

ests, and a splendid record of service in uplifting work. It is in no sense political, yet its influence and power are to be seen in every State legislature, and it has the proud boast of having been a great factor in passing the long disputed Pure Food Bill during the present session of Congress. It cannot be called an academy or museum of art, yet one of the greatest authorities of the age has said that the years of study and demonstration in the clubs and federations have produced the wonderful results shown in the school-room decoration and much of the Arts and Crafts movement, by which a genuine love for, and knowledge of art is being instilled into the coming men and women. It is not a university, yet a surprising stimulus has been given to the study of literature, science, and history in hundreds and hundreds of American homes because of the club membership of mother or daughter. It has no bureau of publicity, yet through its membership of clubs and federations, it has been more far-reaching in disseminating knowledge and arousing public sentiment upon the questions which make for good citizenship, than any other body of workers, because of its broad, inclusive lines and wider outlook. The Federation may become a mighty factor in the civilization of the century, if wielded as a whole,—an army of builders, ready, alert, systematic, and scientific, not only a potent force in this generation, but transmitting to the next a vigor and strength which have never been given by any race of women to their inheritors.

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN'S CLUBS IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN THE MIDDLE-EASTERN STATES

BY MAY ALDEN WARD

The best definition yet given of the club movement is that of Mr. W. L. Bodine, superintendent of compulsory education in Chicago. He says, "Women's clubs are the natural product of a progressive sex living in a progressive age. They stand for the home, for the school, for art and literature and music; for domestic science and for the intellectual advancement of the American woman who presides over the American home. They are not theoretical," he adds, "they are practical; they act, they do things for the good of society; for the good of the community and of the country. The greater woman means the better nation." Evidently Mr. Bodine recognizes the movement as a national influence.

For the sake of convenience these articles are so divided that the work of different sections of the country is reported separately. It must not be imagined, however, that the work is done sectionally, or that the General Federation encourages sectional feeling; on the contrary it is one of the greatest unifying influences of the present day. It has perhaps done more than any other one agency to destroy sectional feeling. It binds together the women of the east and the west, the north and the south in bonds so strong that sectional prejudices are forgotten.

This article is to be limited to the clubs of New England and the Eastern-Middle States. For many years New England and New York boasted of being the pioneers in the club world. Sorosis and the New England Woman's Club were organized in 1868, and each claimed the distinction of being the first woman's club formed in the United States. Each has presented proofs and arguments to uphold its claims but the question of priority is not of so much importance now, since other clubs have come forward in other parts of the country, claiming a much greater age. Indiana and

Michigan point to clubs dating from the fifties. With so many conflicting claims any historian will find it difficult to decide just when and where the club movement began. We may however agree with the decision of Edward Everett Hale that "women's clubs came in upon us just at the time when they were most needed."

We are to review here only the records of the past decade, but in looking at the achievements of these later years it would be ungrateful not to recognize the fact that all this has been made possible by the labors and influence of these earlier clubs. Whatever may be true of other sections, the club movement in the east owes its inspiration and its growth to the New England Woman's Club, and to Sorosis, rightly named the mother clubs. They pointed out the way, they organized and fostered many new clubs, and they educated public opinion. To Sorosis belongs the additional credit of having started the movement which led to the formation of the General Federation.

The task set before us is to show "what the women's clubs of the East have stood for during the last decade, and to give a resumé of the results of their work in influencing the public sentiment of the region, respecting education, the standard of home life, the industrial position of women, the protection of childhood, and the moral and æsthetic life of the community."

The Club and the Home

Beginning then with the most important circle, let us ask what the club has done for the home? It has done much to raise the standard of home life in that it has helped thousands of club members to become better mothers and better home-makers. It has from the first urged the serious study of all subjects pertaining to domestic economy. Each state federation has a committee on household economics, and the chairman is usually an expert who has given years of study to the subject. These committees have prepared outlines for club study covering such subjects as home-sanitation (including drainage and ventilation), the building and furnishing of a home, food-values, sanitary and scientific cookery, and the relation of employer and employee. Many of the clubs have adopted these courses of study, and the number of those interested is constantly increasing.

But the influence of the club on the home is not confined

to the homes of club members. It extends to countless other homes because of the persistent efforts of the clubs to have domestic science made a part of the curriculum in the public schools. The majority of club women believe that some training in domestic science is an essential part of a girl's equipment for life. They have labored unceasingly therefore to have this study introduced into the schools, and in many of the cities and towns of the East they have succeeded. The Cantabrigia Club of Cambridge, Mass., obtained the consent of the school committee to establish a school of domestic science. The club furnished the plant and for four years sustained all the expense of the experiment. At the end of that time the benefits were so obvious that the city assumed the responsibility. This is but a single instance of many that might be quoted.

Another phase of club and federation work has had its influence on the home. The Arts and Crafts committees have not only proclaimed the gospel of combining beauty with utility in the home, they have also stimulated an interest in handicraft, and have fostered home industries in the different states, in a most helpful and practical manner.

The Club and the School

Outside of the home, the next larger interest is the school. What do the clubs of the East stand for in education? To answer this question in detail would require more space than the *Annals* would be willing to give to this article. From kindergarten to college there is no part of the educational field in which they have not interested themselves. From the first the club women have advocated the kindergarten as a part of the public school system, believing that it supplies an element not found in the homes of a great many school children. The yearly reports of the state federations furnish a long list of cities and towns which owe the introduction of the kindergarten to the women's clubs. The usual method is for the club to assume the responsibility and the expense of the experiment, and to carry it on until the authorities recognize its value and adopt it. The New England clubs have long been especially active in this direction, and the movement is constantly extending to other states. At the last annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation a resolution was passed recommending the

educational committee and the clubs to take full, immediate, and practical measures toward planting free kindergartens in every community.

In the same way Manual training has been promoted, the clubs often paying for its introduction, in order to educate the authorities as to its value. In Massachusetts eighteen clubs have taken this for their especial task in the last few years. The Federations of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have urged this subject upon their members. The work of the clubs in this particular direction has often been far greater than appears upon the surface, because even after the successful establishment of manual training, by means of a long and expensive campaign of education, the entire establishment is sometimes destroyed by the incoming of an ignorant or penurious board, whose first recommendation will be the overthrow of manual training, thus requiring the whole battle to be fought over again. In some instances this conflict has to be carried on anew with every recurring year in order to maintain that which has been secured with so much labor and expense.

Other phases of school reform and improvement have been undertaken by individual states with great results. The Maryland Federation labored successfully to have medical inspection established in the public schools of Baltimore. In the same state a movement for a school attendance law was inaugurated by the Arundell Good Government Club, and the law is now in successful operation in Baltimore. The appointment of truant officers was a part of this work, and the enforcement of this law is now supervised by an able official — a woman.

Another encouraging phase of school work undertaken by the clubs is the establishment of stamp-savings stations, to encourage the pupils in habits of thrift. Special stamps are sold to the pupils by authorized persons, and when a certain sum has been reached it is recognized by the saving's banks. By this means three hundred school children in Winchendon, Mass., have opened bank accounts. The public school pupils of Clinton, Massachusetts, have saved over two thousand dollars in five months. Brockton, Massachusetts, has over a thousand depositors in four grammar schools. It is estimated that this feature of club work is helping the children of Massachusetts to save not less than ten thousand dollars per

annum, and in future years this will largely increase, which is necessary as an object lesson if the purpose is to be realized. But of course the real purpose is the establishment of habits of thrift which will have far-reaching effect in character building. Nearly all reformers agree that one of the greatest evils to be overcome in this country, is the natural or acquired spend-thrift tendency of the American child, which leads to so many other vices.

The decoration of the school rooms and the improvement of the grounds have engaged the attention of the clubs in all the states of New England and of the Middle East. In hundreds of cases the barren, dreary school room, which the child instinctively hates, has been transformed beyond recognition by the tinting of walls and ceiling, and the installation of photographs, casts and friezes. Most notable work of this kind has been accomplished in Portland, Maine, where the clubs have expended large sums to obtain surroundings for the children which will cultivate a love of beauty and develop an appreciation of art value.

Important work of this kind has been done by the clubs of New York where the art committee of the State Federation offers advice to the clubs in regard to the principles of decoration, and the correct colors and tones for walls and surfaces, including those proper for the healthful condition of the eyes as well as for the general sense of beauty. The committee also furnishes adequate lists of appropriate photographs, prints, casts and reliefs for the successful management of this delicate and difficult art of school decoration, where the best intentions often end in failure through the lack of knowledge or experience. Work of the kind has been accomplished in almost every city and town of the East.

The love of beauty is also cultivated in the children by the improvement of the grounds, the planting of trees and vines, and the offering of prizes for school gardens. In many instances attention has also been given to the securing of better buildings and larger grounds, as well as to the location of the same in healthful and attractive surroundings. This has extended to so remote a distance as the improvement of the approaches and the general surroundings, in buildings already located, where such unimportant matters as environment had attracted no attention from practical-minded building committees. While an intangible quantity to estimate, it is nevertheless almost certain that in no point

has the quiet influence of the clubs been exerted to better purpose than in this matter of desirable location of school buildings with reference to ample grounds, dignified approaches, and if possible the natural surroundings of parks or open spaces where trees and grass plots may double the value which the original cost of the building adds to the community.

Questions connected with organization and administration in the public schools have also commanded the attention of the club women in the East. The State Federations have joined hands with the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, and conference committees have been appointed to consider these problems. The conference committee in Massachusetts, before taking any action, obtained the aid of an advisory council of educational experts among them being President Eliot, of Harvard University, Thomas M. Balliet, then of Springfield, Sarah L. Arnold, Dean of Simmons College, and Alice Freeman Palmer. A report filled with valuable suggestions was prepared by the advisory council and a copy thereof was sent to every federated club, together with a set of questions covering the same ground. These questions were intended to help the club women to discover and re-adjust improper conditions in their own communities. The aim of the committee has been to create a strong public demand for good teachers, for right conditions in school buildings, and for adequate salaries, that the best men and women may be secured for the schools. "This means," says the chairman, "no more politics in the schools, but boards made up of men and women who have the real good of the schools at heart, who shall appoint teachers for merit alone and not for favoritism of any kind." It means also the schools for the children, and not for the exploitation of home talent, and it means that it is the duty of the school board to secure the best available teachers regardless of the place of residence. The need of well equipped teachers, and of adequate salaries in the elementary grades of the public school is the subject they have kept constantly in view.

In Connecticut this union between club and college women has led to the formation of an organization called the Connecticut Women's Council of Education, in which the following bodies are affiliated: The Connecticut State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Connecticut Branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Congress of

Mothers, the Holyoke Association, and the Teachers' League. Each society is assigned a definite line of special work, though all work in unison for certain reforms in the laws of the state, and for better prepared and better paid teachers.

The educational interests of the clubs of the East are not confined to the public schools. Many of them have endowed scholarships in the women's colleges. Others, not able to command so large a sum at one time, are paying from year to year the tuition of girl students. In addition to these lines of work in which all have an interest, several of the states are carrying on some special work adapted to local needs. The New Hampshire Federation has a permanent fund for the education of girls; each girl who receives this aid pledges herself to teach at least two years in the common schools of the state, after receiving her degree. The Maine Federation is concentrating its attention upon the rural schools. The New Jersey Federation has a fund for maintaining boys at the George Junior Republic. The New York Federation has been raising a sum of money for the establishment of a trade school for girls. At the last annual meeting it was decided not to try to found a separate school, but to turn the money over to the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, of Syracuse, on condition that the organization resolve itself into a trade school for girls.

The Rhode Island club women succeeded in getting through the legislature a bill authorizing the board of education to provide instruction for the adult blind in their homes. As another state enterprise, the Vermont Federation has been striving for the consolidation of the small district schools into larger graded schools, with provision for carrying the scholars from a distance to the central point where the school is located. This is a much needed reform for Vermont, as it has been elsewhere, because it is impossible to secure good teachers for these small districts, or even to keep the school buildings in proper repair.

In Pennsylvania one special line of work has been the starting of school gardens, by giving plants and seeds to the school children with prizes to those achieving the best results therefrom. Both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are giving attention to the "School City," the method developed by modern educators for teaching children the practical duties of citizenship, by having the

children organize and maintain all the institutions of municipal government, by means of boards and committees through which each student citizen shall learn the duties which his elders practice or fail to practice, as it more often happens.

The Massachusetts club women have another special line of educational work. Believing that patriotism is not bounded by state lines, they have joined hands with the women of Georgia in their efforts to combat the evils of child labor in that state. For four years the Massachusetts Federation has helped to maintain a model rural-school in the mill region of Georgia, where in addition to the usual elementary studies the children are taught manual training, domestic science, and gardening. Another open door was found when an opportunity was given to co-operate with the club women of Tennessee in their beautiful settlement work among the mountaineers. Two years ago the Massachusetts Federation established a settlement at Happy Valley, similar to the one maintained by the Tennessee Federation at Walker's Valley. Here cooking, sewing, and all the homely arts of every day living are taught to the mothers as well as to the children. This summary gives but an inadequate answer to the question, "What do the women's clubs of the East stand for in education?"

The Club and the Community

Outside of the family and the school, the next larger interest is the community. What have the Eastern clubs done for the community? If we could give the report of the civic committee of each club and of each state Federation we should have a partial answer to this question. The rule by which the club is guided in civic work is to "Do the task that lies nearest," whether it be to remove a pile of unsightly rubbish, to wage war upon the tree pests, or to prevent the destruction of a landmark. An impartial observer of the club movement says: "Wherever the public health, beauty or morality may be benefited, there the Women's Club is quick to find its opportunity. It is perhaps in such opportunity that it finds its most helpful field of action. Women have the leisure, at least all the leisure there is, and they may wisely use it to look about them and discover the ugly, the unwholesome and the unlovely. To arouse the community to a sense of this unpleasant trilogy, to furnish plans and money to transform it into

beauty, cleanliness and morality might well be, and frequently is, the chief object of organizations of women."

The most inspiring reports of civic work come from Pennsylvania. A passion for civic righteousness seems to have taken possession of the women of the Keystone state. "We find everywhere," says one of them, "a lively interest manifested by our women in municipal affairs. Women have long been house cleaners, and are showing themselves qualified to be town cleaners as well." The pioneer in work of this kind is the Civic Club of Philadelphia. Its chief function has been the educating of the city to a sense of its own needs. It equipped the first summer playground, and maintained it until public opinion required playgrounds to be incorporated in the school system. The city now maintains twenty-four playgrounds. The Civic Club organized the first vacation school; the city now maintains fourteen such schools. The Civic Club started a school for backward and deficient children; the Board of Education now recognizes it as a necessity and has assumed its support. The Civic Club provided free public concerts on the piers; the city has taken them off its hands. Its last work has been the starting and equipping of school gardens. It is also carrying on the program of the Good Citizenship League in eleven public schools.

The clubs of Pittsburg and Allegheny have united to form a permanent civic committee, which has sub-committees on child labor, tenement house reform, and public baths, also on cleanliness of streets, street-cars and public parks, as well as on the disposal of garbage. The clubs of Allegheny carried on, last summer, nine play-grounds, and vacation schools with a daily attendance of between three and four thousand children. The clubs of Pittsburg have an equally creditable report in regard to vacation schools and play-grounds. The Civic Club of Harrisburg, after an experience of seven years, gives the following encouraging report: "It is no longer necessary for us to continue, at our own cost, the practical experiment we began in street cleaning, or to advocate the paving of a single principal street as a test of the value of improved city highways, nor is it necessary longer to strive for a pure water supply, a healthier sewage system, or the construction of play-grounds for the pleasure of our fellow citizens. This work is now being done by city councils, by the

Board of Public Works, and by the Park Commission. We have a Park Committee appointed to co-operate with the Commission on parks and parkway construction." This club, however, has not ceased its effort for the public good. It has a league for good citizenship, a committee on school decoration, and another on traveling libraries for factory employees, besides a committee to visit the jails and to inspect the city dumps.

The interest in public improvement is not confined to the clubs of the cities. Nearly every club in the Pennsylvania Federation reports some definite effort for the benefit of the community. One club bought a street sprinkler for the town, and raised enough money to keep it in operation all summer. Another supports a trained district nurse for the benefit of the poor. One keeps the town clock in order and beautifies the grounds about the railroad station. The Civic Club of Carlisle offers a prize to the school children for the best essay on civic improvement.

The clubs of New Jersey are not behind those of Pennsylvania in their interest in town improvement. The report of a club in Cranford may be taken as a typical one. It tells of good work in collecting the refuse, in cleaning the streets, in cleaning up waste places, waging war upon impure milk; and it has established a hospital fund that the needy, even though a stranger, may be cared for if sick or injured. Flemington, a town of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, has a women's club of eighty members, which reports the following improvement: A plot of ground belonging to the county was a receptacle for unsightly and unsanitary refuse. The town authorities would do nothing toward cleaning it because it belonged to the county. The women's club obtained permission to clear up the place, and with a subscription of one hundred dollars commenced work. Fifty dollars was paid to a landscape architect for plans and a list of materials. Each grade in the public schools was asked to give an evergreen tree. The doctors and lawyers were asked to give the shade trees, and so on until the whole town became interested. Iron settees were made at the town foundry, the band-stand was removed to this location; and, altogether, what had been a disgrace became one of the ornaments of the town. The same club erected a drinking fountain, also succeeded in having the surroundings of the railroad station and the freight office made more attractive, and aided the

school children in starting flower gardens. Jersey City clubs silenced the junk men's bells, and solved the waste-paper problem. Other clubs report that street signs have been placed, posters removed from trees, improper show bills and pictures taken down, approaches to cemeteries improved, and better police protection obtained in suburban villages.

Equally strong is the civic pride of the club women of New York. Joseph Choate said of them in a recent address: "They are vastly more interested than we are in the administration of the criminal law, in the preservation of law and order, and in the suppression and punishment of crime." He declared that Mr. Jerome would owe his election more to the women of New York than to the men. The women certainly did valiant and effective work in the campaign for reform of municipal affairs. The chairman of the Civics committee of the New York Federation urges each club to select the evil that seems greatest in its own particular place:

"See if there is nothing needed in the way of material municipal cleanness, or moral municipal cleanness; the training of good citizens, or the making the city or town more beautiful. Under these heads would come: Clean streets, pure water, garbage disposal, prevention of the smoke nuisance, prevention of unnecessary noises, putting a stop to uncleanness in public places and public conveyances; also the planting of trees, shrubs, and vines along streets and public highways, reducing the bill-board nuisance, training children in leagues of good citizenship, and last but not least, looking after the moral atmosphere of the cities and towns, especially that surrounding the school children."

To recount the work done for community betterment by the clubs of New York and of the six New England states, would simply be to repeat what has been said of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Each club has attacked the local problem that was most pressing. Local philanthropic work has appealed especially to the clubs of New England. Many of them are supporting vacation houses, fresh air camps, district nurses, and hospital beds. The Woman's Charity Club, of Boston, built and owns a hospital, raising annually about ten thousand dollars for its support. While the Women's Industrial Union, of Boston, expends annually over forty

thousand dollars in helping the poor to help themselves, by means of acquiring some self-sustaining employment.

The Club and the State

Notwithstanding the great activity of the clubs in town and city improvement, their energies are by no means limited to local interests. By far the most significant feature of the club movement has been the formation and growth of state federations, which is simply the recognition by women of the advantages of united, organized action. Maine was the pioneer in this direction; the Maine Federation having been organized in 1892. Massachusetts followed in 1893, and all the Eastern federations have now passed their tenth milestone. The far-reaching influence of this form of organization cannot be measured, but it is already evident that there is no more effective machinery in existence for the creation of a right public opinion. This is not simply the result of organization, but also of the size and mere numerical proportion of the civic bodies thus brought together, which has now become so conspicuous as to make them truly representative of their respective states. The New York Federation now numbers two hundred and twenty-three clubs, with a membership of forty-two thousand. The Massachusetts Federation numbers two hundred and thirty clubs, with thirty-four thousand members.

Who would place a limit to the influence which may be exerted in a commonwealth by these thousands of earnest, intelligent women, when fully awake to their duties and responsibilities as citizens. Nor is the question of their being fully alive and awake as to their responsibilities any longer in doubt. With each year the machinery becomes more effective as the states become more thoroughly organized. Especially is this noticeable within the last year or two, wherein the public spirit of the rank and file of the membership has approximated the enthusiastic devotion which a few years ago was only found as a rule among our most advanced leaders. So pronounced has this become that men and women the country over, who are trying to obtain practical results, as creators of public opinion, have come to look upon a federation meeting as a golden opportunity. They have come to regard the meetings of these organizations as probably the shortest and quickest of all

the avenues by which the public conscience may be reached and public questions influenced.

The club women are closely related, by communal and family ties to the most influential men in all our communities. They may be the busy American men who have little time for anything outside their immediate responsibilities, but so much the greater is the opportunity to influence them directly through the members of their own family and their own community. Besides this the proceedings of the clubs are now reported in the daily press with a fullness which is rarely obtained by any except political interests, and this widens the influence of the clubs to the entire community. This is not simply to please the club members, for the press would respond to no motive that was not deeper than that. It is because of the value to the entire community of the subjects which are brought before the club meetings. It is for the reason above given, because the creators of public opinion recognize the clubs as their best and most effective allies and are therefore always glad of the opportunity to present the vital issues of the day and hour to audiences which will at once assure them of the widest hearing, and the most sympathetic co-operation. The clubs are selected by natural law from the women who think, and who as a rule have the masterful capacity to act in obedience to definite thought and conviction. Add to this the power of feminine tact, feminine conscience, and feminine spirituality, and as the St. Paul Pioneer press has remarked, "their power for good becomes irresistible."

To bring thousands of such women into one form of organization, with allied purposes and high ideals was a great work. The women who planned it were women of high aims and of noble purposes, whose only thought was that of service to the entire community. At the first annual meeting of the Massachusetts Federation the subject assigned for discussion was: "What are the duties of the Women's Clubs to the State?" It was treated under four heads: educational, philanthropic, political, and æsthetic. This is the question which the federations are still trying to answer, and as "New occasions teach new duties," the answer can never be a fixed formula. Each year seems to point out some new avenue of usefulness.

Owing to the recent efforts after unification, each state federation now has its permanent committees corresponding to those

of the National Federation. Of these, the committees which most directly concern state interests are, respectively, the committees on Civics, Forestry, Industrial Conditions, Child Labor, Library Extension, Pure-Food, and above all Civil Service Reform.

Of the above, forestry goes hand in hand with civics, and it is difficult sometimes to separate the two subjects. The definite objects of the forestry committees are: the creation of state forest reserves, the establishment of some instruction in forestry in every school, the appointment of a trained forester in every state. They endeavor also to create enthusiasm for the planting of trees, and for the protection of those we have. The results in tree planting have been most satisfactory. One club in Pennsylvania, by offering prizes to the school children, secured the planting of one thousand trees in four years. The children have also been instructed how to care for the trees. A club near Boston planted four hundred shade trees along the streets of the town. Another club planted, in the last year, fifty-seven trees, two hundred and seventy vines, and two hundred and thirty shrubs. Work is also being done to protect the trees against their natural enemies: human, other animal, and insect. Special efforts are being made to prevent the frightful destruction of road-side trees by trolley and telephone companies.

In addition to these interests which are common to all the states, several of the eastern federations have had special problems of their own. Everyone knows the heroic labors of the New Jersey Federation to prevent the destruction of the Palisades. A fund is now being raised for the purchase of a memorial park and the erection of a lookout tower to perpetuate the memory of the victory. The work done by the Pennsylvania Federation for forest reserves is also a matter of history, as Pennsylvania now has the finest forest reserves in the eastern states, and the effective work of the clubs in securing them is well known.

The task laid upon the New Hampshire Federation is that of protecting the forests of the White Mountains from the vandals who would convert them into lumber and paper. New York women have been doing similar work for the Adirondacks and the Catskills, as well as trying to prevent marauders from robbing Niagara of its grandeur. The women of Massachusetts found their forestry problem at their very doors. It is that of waging persistent war-

fare against the gypsy and the brown-tail moth, the deadly enemies of the shade trees. The forestry chairman has the zeal of a crusader, and so contagious has been her enthusiasm that nearly every club in the state responded to her call. One club alone by obtaining the aid of children, secured the burning of 375,000 nests. At the same time continuous pressure was brought to bear upon the legislature to obtain an appropriation for the extermination of the pests.

The Civics committees of the federations are also fighting the enemies of the Commonwealth. They have done much for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, by establishing camps, by distributing literature, and by keeping before the people in every way the measures to be taken to protect the public health. The Massachusetts Federation owns a traveling health library, which contains books relating to the retention and the restoration of health from this disease, also photographs showing the proper outdoor method of treating tuberculosis.

The Civic committees have labored to eliminate the tramp evil, by trying to convince the average woman that indiscriminate back-door feeding is a wrong to the community: they have also encouraged legislatures to establish a work test with proper lodging houses. Other public enemies against which their efforts have been directed are: the bill-board nuisance, patent-medicine frauds, and indecent advertising.

The Civics committee is also doing constructive work in regard to the treatment of delinquent children. The Eastern federations are copying the West in their efforts to have the system of Juvenile Courts established. It is conceded that the five bills passed by the Pennsylvania legislature, providing for the Juvenile Courts, owed their passage to the persistence of the Pennsylvania Federation and its president. The New York Federation is trying to secure an appropriation for salaried probation officers.

It is not possible to overlook the work of the federations in establishing libraries. The home, the school, the community, the state and the nation have all benefited by the labors of the Library Extension Committees. Most noteworthy results have been accomplished in Maine, where the State Federation not only provided traveling libraries for the less favored places but, in 1898, secured the passage of a law creating a library commission and

establishing traveling libraries as a state provision. The State Commission has always included one or more of the officers of the federation in recognition of their interest in the subject. Nearly a hundred traveling libraries are now circulating in the state, and the growth of permanent free libraries has also been remarkable.

The Delaware Federation has done notable work in this field. Beginning by sending out traveling libraries at its own expense, it has received three appropriations from the state, and has succeeded in securing the creation of a State Library Commission. Vermont is placing libraries in the rural schools. New York is establishing a permanent library at Stony Brook, on the coast of Long Island, where the population consists of sea-faring men and their families. The Pennsylvania Federation secured the passage of bills to increase the efficiency of the traveling libraries of that state.

As nearly every village in Massachusetts has a free library, the Federation has been able to aid the less fortunate states. The committee has sent out to various parts of the country, in the last three years, forty-seven traveling libraries in cases, several permanent libraries to rural schools, and in addition over twelve thousand books to various places in the West and the South from which requests have come. All of these were for permanent libraries.

Industrial Conditions of Women and Children.

A problem that comes very near to the hearts of club women is that of the position of women and children in the industrial world, including the new conditions which surround the wage-earning woman, and that most sorrowful product of our civilization, the wage-earning child. The account of what has been done by the clubs of each state to lessen the evils of child labor, has already been published in the *Annals* of May, 1905. Since that time, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have made some progress in protective legislation. In the East as in the West, this is the subject which takes precedence of all others, and each club and each state federation may be counted upon to continue the fight against this evil and co-operate with every agency that is seeking to remove it.

Each state federation has its committee on the Industrial Con-

dition of Women and Children. The program outlined by the Pennsylvania committee is a good illustration of the method adopted. The duties of the committee as indicated in the program are four-fold:

First.—To gather information and statistics of the deplorable and almost unbearable conditions, under which women and children were working in this State.

Second.—To find from physicians, philanthropists and experts, just what the ideal requirements should be, concerning the age, the sex, the mental and physical progress, the hours of work, the sanitation, and the living wage, in the many varied industries in the State.

Third.—To discover what efforts are being made to enforce existing laws — poor though they may be — what reforms are being agitated, and what public or private philanthropy is doing to help the situation.

Fourth.—When all these facts have been gathered and authenticated, to place them at the disposal of every Woman's Club in the State, so that each Club may become in its turn, a center for a campaign of education, and be enabled to use to the full its influence. And in so doing the Federation will throw its great power towards ridding Pennsylvania of the stigma of its unintelligent and inhumane treatment of the women and children who work.

In Massachusetts a joint committee from the State Federation and the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union has been carrying on an investigation into the dangerous and injurious trades in which women are engaged. A special agent was employed and much valuable information obtained in regard to the rubber trade, cordage factories and steam laundries. This information was used effectively at the State House at the hearings on the bill calling for an appropriation to secure an investigation of dangerous trades by the Board of Health. This last winter it was decided to make a thorough study of the conditions under which women and children are working in the different industries throughout the state. The academic part of the investigation includes a comparative study of the laws creating facilities for factory inspection throughout the United States. The committee is preparing to publish a simplified statement of the laws of Massachusetts relating to women

and children, which will be distributed to club women and wage-earners.

The Federation has done all that it could to further the cause of trade-training for girls, believing that the one great gift which can be conferred upon the girl who must earn her own living is to help her to become an effective worker. All possible influence was brought to bear in favor of the measure just passed, providing for industrial training for boys and girls. On the other hand they try to protect the product of such toil from selling at too low a remuneration. All our Eastern states co-operate with the Consumers' League in trying to educate the conscience of womankind so that we shall not be willing to buy or to wear garments that have cost too much of human life. The local branch of the Consumers' League is generally a member of each state federation, and most of the states have a special committee to further the objects of the League.

The Massachusetts Federation has one organization which ought to be mentioned, though we can do little more, for to describe its usefulness would require a volume. It is the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, of Boston.

Organized in the eighties, the Union now includes a sustaining membership of three thousand women; it possesses real estate worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and has an annual income from all sources of about thirty thousand dollars. It is a vast hive of co-operative industry for the benefit of working women and women producers. It secures a market for the product of women's industry to the amount of nearly fifty thousand dollars per annum.

In addition to its Handiwork Department, the Union carried on for sometime a School of Housekeeping which is now a part of Simmons College. It has also an Employment Department of a very different character from the ordinary employment bureau. Its Committee on Hygiene is constantly looking after the well-being of women and children in factories, and especially in any kind of employment where surroundings are likely to be injurious. The Department of Practical Ethics endeavors to secure justice for any class of people who may be neglected. It initiated the movement to improve the condition of the Adult Blind. The Befriending Committee is one of the most beneficent which could exist in a modern city, and its name explains its office.

But probably the most significant of all these activities is the Union's Protective Department, which looks after the rights, legal and ethical, of any woman in the city whose case is brought to its attention. The Union employs a lawyer who gives free legal advice to those not able to pay for it. As an object lesson in trade-training the Union has maintained classes in millinery, in dress-making, and in salesmanship. After two years of unwearied effort, the Union has succeeded in securing legislation to protect the ignorant wage-earner from the evils of the installment plan, and from the tricks of the unscrupulous money-lender.

The Pure Food Campaign

The report of the Pure Food committee of the General Federation is published in this number of the Annals. It is not necessary therefore to dwell upon what has been done in the East. The report shows that the General Federation and the state federations stood as a unit for the passage of the pure food bill, as they did for better state laws, and the better enforcement of the laws already in existence. Senators and congressmen from every state testify to the pressure brought to bear upon them by the women's clubs. Now that the national bill has passed, there is still work to be done in the way of disseminating information in regard to foods, and food adulterants; and in examining the sanitary conditions controlling the production, storage, and sale of food products.

Interest in Legislation

Each state federation has a legislative committee — not for the purpose of initiating legislation, but to examine measures presented, bring before the clubs those which should receive attention, and obtain concerted action when needed. That the influence of the clubs upon legislation is not underestimated is shown by the fact that whenever a bill is presented relating to the material or moral welfare of the public, an effort is sure to be made to obtain the endorsement and co-operation of the state federation of women's clubs. An imposing list could be made of the measures which the clubs have helped to pass or to defeat.

Civil Service Reform

Of all the tasks undertaken by the federated clubs by far the most important is the work for civil service reform, because its

principles underlie all the others and are necessary for their success. This is not the place to dwell upon the value of the merit system, but rather to speak of the efforts of the club women of the East to carry its message far and wide. The Women's Auxiliary, of the Civil Service Reform Association, was organized in New York in 1894. A few years later the Massachusetts Federation was induced to take an interest in the subject, and to appoint a committee to further it.

In 1900, at the convention of the General Federation in Milwaukee, a place was given on the program for a fifteen minute paper. In 1902, an hour was allowed for the presentation of the subject, and a civil service reform committee was appointed. In 1904, at the St. Louis Convention, a whole session was devoted to it, and the assembly voted to make this one of the main issues of the Federation for the next two years. When this subject was first brought before the clubs, it was necessary to educate the club women themselves; to convince them that this was a question in which they above all others should have an interest. The Auxiliaries of New York, Massachusetts and Maryland did valiant service in this direction. Literature was distributed, public meetings were held, speakers were sent free of charge to any club willing to furnish an audience. Club women were quick to recognize the importance of this issue and its close relation to every phase of human life. It offered a natural and legitimate field for patriotic work.

The results of this work have been almost incredible. The majority of the state federations have already appointed civil service reform committees, and many of the clubs have formed classes for the serious study of the merit system. A syllabus, prepared by Professor Salmon, of Vassar College, was published by the Massachusetts Federation and thousands of copies were distributed. A history of the movement prepared by Mrs. Oakley, was published by the General Federation and widely circulated. The purpose of the federation is that "Every woman in the United States shall understand the principles on which our government was founded, and use her influence toward maintaining them."

One of the far-reaching results obtained has been that in connection with the public schools. Pamphlets prepared for the purpose by Mr. Edward Carey and Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff have

been furnished to schools willing to use them. Up to the present time over one hundred thousand copies of these pamphlets have been sent, and there is record of over thirteen hundred schools and colleges which have used them. This work is carried on in the belief that "when every child in the United States is grounded in civil service reform principles, the spoils system will be condemned by public opinion and will cease to exist."

Prizes have been offered by the Auxiliaries for the best essay on the merit system. A beautiful medal has been designed for the New York and the Massachusetts Auxiliaries, by Miss Frances Grimes, under the direction of Mr. St. Gaudens. Bronze replicas of this medal are to be used by individuals and by clubs as the reward for school prize-essays on civil service reform. It is believed that the medal will be more attractive than any money prize in teaching of the subject and its reward. "The figure of a woman typifying the State, with the impartial scales in one hand, is specially timely in this year of civic victories, and the words, 'The best shall serve the State,' were written for the medal by her whose life has fulfilled them, whose death now illumines them with rays of light,—Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell."

At present the attention of the clubs is being directed to state and municipal institutions. Clubs are asked to investigate local conditions and to seek especially for the application of civil service reform principles in institutions where the dependent, the defective, and the delinquent are cared for, that those to whom the care of these unfortunates is entrusted may be chosen for fitness and not for political influence. Legislation is also being carefully watched that no backward steps may be taken in any state. A bill giving preference to the Spanish war veterans, on the civil list, has twice been presented to the Massachusetts legislature. A protest was sent in carrying the signature of 3484 club women.

The initiator of this work for civil service reform, the very soul of it from the beginning up to the present time, is a frail little woman, born in South Carolina and living in Massachusetts, with patriotism so large that she has no knowledge of sectional lines; with a love of country so deep, and a passion for social righteousness so strong, that she has been able to kindle the fire of enthusiasm in the hearts of thousands of club women who have never seen her face. It is because of such leadership that the results

have been achieved. It is because of the thousands of women with a spark of this same divine fire, working together for better homes, better schools, better surroundings, better industrial conditions, and better laws, that we have faith in the club movement as a beneficent influence in the United States. They may not be able to solve all the problems of our complex civilization, but the organized effort of these thousands of earnest, intelligent women, cannot be without its effect on the future of our country.

THE WOMEN'S CLUBS IN THE MIDDLE WESTERN STATES

BY MRS. JOHN DICKINSON SIHERMAN,

Recording Secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

In setting forth "what the women's clubs of the middle West have stood for during the last decade," and giving "a résumé of the results of their work in the public sentiment of this region respecting education, the standard of home life, the industrial position of women, the protection of childhood, and the moral and esthetic life of the community," the subject must be considered from several viewpoints. The club movement as it stands today is the result of an evolution, and is still in an evolutionary stage.

A long step forward in the evolution of the club movement in the middle West—for the purposes of this article the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio—was the organization of the clubs into state federations and the union of the clubs, either directly or indirectly through the state federations, with the General Federation. This step was taken about a decade ago—by Iowa in 1893, by Illinois and Ohio in 1894, by Michigan and Missouri in 1895, and by Indiana in 1900. To review the work of the last decade, therefore, is in a sense to review the work of the General Federation in the middle West.

It must be remembered, however, that the middle West has a club history which goes back to a period long antedating the organization of the General Federation in 1889 in New York. In some cases this history dates back to the '50s, as in the case of the Ladies' Library Society of Kalamazoo, Mich. (1852), and the Minerva Club of New Harmony, Ind. (1859). In the '70s powerful clubs—the Chicago Women's Club is a good example of the type—were doing work in the middle West that had compelled their recognition as semi-public bodies. These clubs joined the General Federation and took up its work, but they neither lost

their own individuality, nor abandoned their own particular purpose.

The Middle West Club, as organized a generation ago by women of middle age, was primarily a club for the educational and intellectual betterment of its members. In many cases the daughters have followed in their mothers' footsteps, and this type of club is strong in numbers and membership.

The second stage was marked by the organization of clubs devoted to the benefit of the local community or some particular part of the community and by the enlarging of the scope of the work of existing clubs to include some phase of public endeavor — a movement away from self-culture and toward service.

The third stage is the acquisition of sufficient power through organization and united effort to make the clubs a strong factor in municipal, state, and national affairs. The full realization of this power and its responsibilities has only just come to the mass of the club women. Henceforth their motto is concentration of purpose and united action. Co-operation is the order of the day among the clubs, as elsewhere.

It must be kept in mind that these several stages of development are in a sense co-existent, inasmuch as many clubs are successfully working out the three-fold mission of benefiting their members, bettering the local community, and co-operating in state and national activities. These conditions call for a consideration of the club movement from several points of view. For it is evident that the club movement stands for many things: — the various kinds of mutual benefit extended by one member to another and by one club to another; the local endeavor of the individual club to benefit the community or some particular part of the community; the purposes that have animated the state federations, and the impulses that have come to the individual clubs and state federations through the General Federation. This gives large variety to the scope, and produces an enormous total of work accomplished in almost innumerable ways.

As it is difficult to set forth all that the club movement stands for, so it is impossible definitely to bound its accomplishment. For the influence of the clubs upon the community has been both direct and indirect. As to the direct influence a definite statement of results may be made. The indirect influence, while possibly no less effective, cannot be even approximately measured.

The club membership of the middle West is relatively large. There are more than thirteen hundred clubs, with a membership of over 75,000. However varied the purpose of the individual club, the mass of the membership has stood for certain cardinal principles of American life that make for the good of the community — such things as education, better schools, patriotism, temperance, and the protection of women and children. Even when they have not taken the initiative or publicly co-operated, the consistent attitude of these thousands of club women on these questions has been a vital factor in the growth of the community.

When women have worked openly for these and other things of value to the community they have sometimes worked alone, often in co-operation with public governing bodies, and not infrequently against the opposition of lawmaking bodies. When the women undertake at their own expense a work that does not call for legislation and can by no possibility infringe upon the rights and privileges of the man, there is always official tolerance, frequently approval, and sometimes co-operation. In general, however, when a work calls for a diversion of the public funds, or requires the sanction of legislation, or seeks to change the existing laws, it is looked upon with indifference or hostility by the powers that be and the lawmakers.

Here is a case in point: The club women of Illinois established, supported, and developed the traveling library system until it reached such proportions that they felt that the state should assume the burden and the responsibility. They therefore offered the libraries, amounting to ten thousand books, to the state and presented a library extension bill to the Legislature. The measure was defeated; in fact, it never had a chance of passage. The fact that club women in the middle West have secured the legislation that they have is the best possible proof of the strength of the club movement.

Where there is active co-operation between the clubs and organizations of men, or between the clubs and governing bodies, sometimes one and sometimes the other takes the initiative. It is often difficult, therefore, to determine the share of credit to which each is entitled. It is also frequently true that laws directly in the line of work of the clubs have been passed without the initiative or even the co-operation of the clubs. These conditions should be

kept in mind; the score to the credit of the club women is long enough without adding debatable items.

The middle West is not a homogeneous territory, from the viewpoint of the club movement. Different conditions in different states have created different needs, and consequently different lines of work. It is not possible to say that all of the middle West is equally interested in the amelioration of child labor, for example, or in forestry, or in juvenile courts and probation laws. And Indiana would be the first to cry out in protest were one to say that all the states are equally interested in art and literature.

Having thus cleared the ground, one may begin to set forth what the club movement in the middle West stands for and recount what has been accomplished. And it is not necessary to attempt to set forth in detail what the club movement stands for. The count of what has been accomplished is sufficiently comprehensive, since there has been accomplishment in every line of work. It is sufficient to say, in passing, that the clubs of the middle West stand for all that the General Federation stands for, and more, for they co-operate in the work of the central organization and in addition have their own particular and peculiar missions.

The work of the General Federation is largely done through its standing committees. To name these committees, therefore, gives at a glance the main divisions of the work to which it stands pledged. They are: Art, civics, civil service reform, education, forestry, household economics and pure food, industrial and child labor, legislation and library extension. Most of these divisions are broadly inclusive and stand for manifold activities. Thus education as understood by the General Federation means, among other things, better schools and more of them; vacation, manual training, industrial and cooking schools, compulsory education and the Juvenile court.

The club movement, considered from the viewpoint of its effect upon the membership, may be dismissed in a single paragraph. No intelligent person can doubt that the club has been a blessing to women. It has appeased a mind hunger. It has been a liberal education to many women, both in general culture and the conduct of affairs. It is largely the training of the club that has made possible the manifold activities of the club movement.

The rank and file of the club women of the middle West

form a truly admirable body of women — loyal, sincere, and thoroughly in earnest. Well to do, well informed and capable, unhampered by the very rich or the very poor, the flower of every community, they are at once an aristocracy and a democracy of brains with the watchword, "The Home, Patriotism, and Good Government."

The most promising investment for the good of the community is the education of the coming generation and into this investment the federated club women of the middle West have poured a wealth of time, effort, and money. They have labored whenever and wherever the opportunity offered — on their own initiative, in co-operation with school and municipal bodies, and in conjunction with other organizations. They have been active in every phase of the educational question — the public schools, compulsory education, child labor, and the Juvenile court. Women have served on boards of education, and as county and state superintendents, and state university trustees. The clubs have secured and even forced the passage of educational laws. In fact, so manifold have been the activities of the clubs that the ground can be covered here only in a general way, with the citation of a few notable cases of special endeavor.

In working for the cause of education the club women have not neglected the things that too often seem petty and sentimental to the men of affairs. They have endeavored to bring the school and the home closer together through mothers' clubs, child study circles, and social intercourse. They have tried to cultivate the esthetic sense by gifts of pictures and casts, by the artistic decoration of schoolrooms, and by prizes for flower culture. They have worked to make the schoolhouses and grounds pleasing as well as useful. In the direction of bigger things from a material viewpoint the credit for many new schoolhouses belongs to the women. The establishment and maintenance of free kindergartens are common; in many cases — as in that of the Under Age Free kindergarten, originally established as a charity by the Wednesday Club of St. Louis — these schools have grown to be notable institutions. Manual training has had a good friend in the clubs; united club effort in Iowa, for example, has established it in six schools in the last two years. Ohio crowned five years' hard work with the success of securing legislation for four normal schools in 1902 and appro-

priation for two. The women of Ohio also helped to win a very notable victory in the campaign to revise the school code after the modern methods obtaining in Chicago and St. Louis; it was the club woman and the educator against the politician.

Compulsory education is of course a vital factor in education, and the middle West club women are entitled to a very large share of the credit for the existing laws. In Illinois the bill that became a law in 1897 was drawn up by a joint committee from the State Federation and the Collegiate Alumnae association; it is a good law, providing for attendance between the ages of 7 and 14 for sixteen weeks, twelve of which must be consecutive, and for truant officers. The Iowa women secured a law providing for sixteen weeks of attendance. The Missouri Federation, after two unsuccessful attempts through co-operation, prepared its own bill, got it through the Senate and then united with the friends of another similar bill and secured the law. In Indiana the legislative committee has recommended that the compulsory school age be raised from 14 to 16. Illinois club women have been largely instrumental in removing all inconsistencies between the compulsory education and child labor laws. It follows as a matter of course that the middle West clubs have been active in the movement for parental, truant, and industrial schools, which are a natural and necessary outgrowth of the compulsory education crusade. A notable case in this line of educational work is the raising of \$40,000 by the Chicago Women's club, through its members and friends, for the Glenwood industrial school for boys, a model institution in the country near the city.

An interesting contrast with compulsory education is the work of the vacation school. So interesting is the contrast that it is worth while to set forth with some detail the operations of a notable vacation school undertaking by the women's clubs of Chicago. In 1896 the Civic federation opened one vacation school—the first in Chicago. The next year one was maintained by the Chicago University settlement. In 1898 the women's clubs took up the work, and the Chicago vacation school committee of women's clubs opened five schools. The last two years this committee has maintained eight. There is a vacation school board with a club woman president and secretary; the other members consist of eight club women and eight men. Since 1898 the club women have con-

tributed nearly \$25,000 to the support of these schools. Last year they gave \$4,321, an increase of \$300 over the year before. This money was contributed by more than fifty clubs in the city and its suburbs. Individual contributions amounted to nearly \$2,000. The Chicago board of education appropriated \$5,000 toward the payment of salaries of teachers. The total enrollment was 6,583, and the total average daily attendance was 4,360. The cost of maintaining eight schools five weeks was \$10,335.63. The cost per capita, based on the average daily attendance, was, therefore, \$2.60, and on the total enrollment, \$1.56. Nearly a thousand dollars was expended on excursions. Twenty-eight nationalities were represented. The Italians led, with 1,424, and the Jews were a close second, with 1,408. The Germans were third, with 1,074. Other nationalities with noteworthy enrollments are: Bohemian, 670; Irish, 434; American, 373; Norwegian, 270; Swedish, 269; Russian, 246; Polish, 214. The only per cent of enrollment above twenty is in the case of the Italians and Jews. The highest per cent of enrollment of the other nationalities mentioned is 16 for the Germans and 10 for the Bohemians; the others range from 6.59 for the Irish to 3.25 for the Poles. The American per cent is 5.66. These eight vacation schools could be filled many times over. At some of them the rush on opening day is something astounding and terrible. When the school in the Ghetto was opened last year a mob of 1,500 men, women, and children fought in front of the building for a chance to enter, and three policemen were powerless. Every day of the term a crowd stood at the front door waiting for some child to drop out through sickness. Probably 15,000 children were turned away from the eight schools. It is estimated that thirty vacation schools would no more than do the work that eight are trying to do. Comment on this situation is unnecessary.

Thus it is seen that there has been consistent and persistent effort along all lines of educational progress. There have been many noteworthy examples of special endeavor. Three of these may be mentioned as examples of the almost infinite variety of educational effort. Accepting as axiomatic the contention that the school child cannot put forth his best intellectual effort unless well nourished physically, several Chicago clubs are furnishing luncheons in high schools, where the noon recess is short. One club, the

Englewood Woman's club, has made such complete arrangements that it is able to serve hot and well cooked luncheon to 430 pupils in twenty minutes. Four years ago the Michigan State Federation pledged a memorial loan fund of \$5,000 for the benefit of women students in the University of Michigan. The fund is a memorial to Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, the "mother" of the Michigan federation, and the first woman upon whom the university conferred the degree of LL. D. The fund has been raised and paid into the hands of the university regents. School Children's Aid, a society that has grown out of the Chicago Woman's Club, furnishes needy children with clothes and thus keeps them in school; the society is eleven years old and every year has collected from \$7,000 to \$9,000 for this purpose.

In any discussion of the standards of home life in the middle West a serious and perplexing problem thrusts itself to the front — the homemaking-housekeeping-domestic service problem. It is serious because it threatens, especially in the cities, to substitute apartments in a family hotel for the old fashioned home. It is perplexing because we have no servant class, because working women are generally unwilling to accept domestic service as a means of gaining a living, and most of all because the woman heads of families are doing little to improve the situation. The plain fact is that the present day American housekeeper is with difficulty convinced that she has anything to learn and that she has any responsibility outside of her own family. She groans over the drudgery of housekeeping and is in despair over the domestic service problem, but she makes little progress toward lightening her own burden, and does nothing at all toward improving the general situation. The only ray of light to be seen — at least in the middle West — is in the work that the club women are doing in the line of household economics. Here we have abandoned the old theory that woman needs no training in the art of homemaking, and comes by the necessary knowledge through inheritance and natural ability, and that each woman is sufficient unto herself. We feel that homemaking is the one thing above all others for which we are responsible, that we alone can elevate it, and that we must work out our salvation through scientific investigation and co-operation.

An object lesson in the most advanced thought of the middle

West club women is the School of Domestic Arts and Science of Chicago, established and managed by club women. Last year it had 1,100 students. Each year there is an exhibit of household work, at which a special effort is made to bring out labor-saving devices and the things that will make housekeeping more intelligent, easier, and more interesting. The underlying idea is that the common sense of the American homemaker will in time lift this work to a professional basis through scientific investigation and the contact of the theoretical worker and the practical housekeeper. In combination with the Chicago Kindergarten institute there is a course in which young women are trained in the care of the child as well as the administration of the home. Students and trained teachers from this school go out among those too poor to attend classes, teaching the best use of utensils and material, the cutting of children's clothes, and the trimming of hats. Prizes are given to the housekeepers and cooks of the city.

In all six states there is evidence of genuine and widespread interest, which is shown in a variety of ways. Ohio is preaching the addition of a fourth R to the existing system of education — the R of right living. Iowa reports twenty-one clubs taking household economics as the course of study for the entire club year. Indiana has adopted the slogan "Pure Food and Right Living." In Missouri the practical kitchen committee of the Domestic Science Club of Livingston County has prepared blue prints and details of a model kitchen to cost no more than a piano; these plans have been sent on request all over Missouri and to Minnesota, New Jersey, Arkansas, Kansas, Illinois, and Indiana. The Michigan women aided in securing the appropriation for a \$90,000 building for the Michigan Agricultural College for the exclusive use of women studying domestic arts and science. Everywhere the women have been instrumental in establishing courses and departments of domestic science in all sorts of educational institutions from the vacation school to the university. In Illinois, for example, five years ago a new school of domestic science was opened at the University of Illinois, where the first school of the kind in the United States and possibly in the world was established in 1870; three years ago a domestic economics department was opened at the University of Chicago; in 1903 James Millikin of Decatur completed a half million dollar university in which a domestic

science department has a prominent place; the Bradley institute at Peoria, founded by Mrs. T. S. Bradley, has an extensive department in two divisions; the Legislature has placed household economics in the five normal schools of the state, all the high schools of Chicago and vicinity and of many other cities have domestic science courses; two years ago the American School of Household Economics, a correspondence school, was established; Lewis institute, Chicago, has a domestic science department.

This activity would seem to indicate that the club women of the middle West are sincerely endeavoring to undo the work of their sisters who have "degraded kitchen work and placed a social ban on all women who dare take it up as a means of livelihood," and that a halo will yet be placed on the head of the "woman with a broom" as well as of the "man with a hoe."

As to the pure food department of household economics, the work of the club women of the middle West must be measured rather by promise than by performance, inasmuch as they, as well as the General Federation, have been stirred to activity only in the last two years. In general the shocking conditions which have been lately revealed are largely due to a shamefully lax enforcement of the existing state laws. Illinois has a fairly good law and a food commissioner. Indiana club women have secured a state laboratory of hygiene under the control of the board of health, charged with the duty of examining food and drugs and aiding in the enforcement of health laws. Michigan has a law administered by a state dairy and food commissioner; its dairy laws are fairly effective. Missouri has been interested to the present only in the protection of its dairy interests; the club women of the state are now pledged to a local pure food crusade. Ohio's law is fairly satisfactory and the women have been satisfied to work for its enforcement. Iowa's law covers only dairy products; the women intend to present a pure food bill to the next Legislature.

In addition to lax enforcement of the existing laws the lack of uniformity in the several state laws is a very unsatisfactory feature. The absence of a national pure food law was of course the worst feature of a bad situation. The operation of the new national law will cause a most radical change in the conditions. Governmental regulation of interstate traffic will put a stop to the shipping of adulterated and spurious wares from one state to an-

other and the unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers of the big cities will have to stop poisoning consumers in other states. The club women of the several states will then have a fair field and a chance to work out their own salvation by enforcing and amending existing laws and by creating new legislation. But their strongest weapon lies in the fact that the women do the buying of food supplies for the family; in its final analysis the pure food question must be answered by the wives and mothers. The club women of the middle West have here a glorious opportunity and a noble work ready to their hand. They must educate the ignorant woman as well as appeal to the educated woman who buys. United refusal to buy impure foodstuffs would of course bring about a pure food millennium without the aid of the law.

As to the relationship between the club movement and the industrial position of women in the middle West, there is little to be said except from a philanthropic viewpoint. Much is being done in the several states to bring about closer relations between the club women and the working women. In Ohio, for example, the club women are going into the factories and making a thorough study of conditions by personal acquaintance with the women operatives. A typical philanthropy is that of the Klio association of Chicago, an organization of women that serves meals at cost to 1,000 working women a day. The quarters include rest and sick rooms and a reading-room with a library of over 1,000 volumes.

To the club women of the middle West belongs the honor of bringing a new element into jurisprudence in the Juvenile court law. If the whole club movement of the six states in the last ten years had accomplished nothing else it would still be well worth while. The Juvenile court is an instrument for good whose tremendous power is only beginning to be felt. The first court was established but seven years ago, yet already eighteen states have adopted the Illinois law, either in whole or in part. While the Juvenile court is not a cure-all, and is an instrument and not an end, it is the best solution yet devised of the problem of dependent and delinquent children in crowded communities. It is perfectly safe to say that within a very few years it will be in every considerable self-respecting city in the United States.

The old idea was that the child, like the adult who had broken

the law, must be tried and punished. The new principle is that even if the child has violated the law the state must act as a wise and just and merciful parent, and so deal with the case that evil tendencies will be eradicated and the juvenile offender educated into good citizenship. Perhaps the spirit of the law may be condensed into the phrase, "A square deal for the child."

The movement that has brought about the Juvenile court had its beginning in the Cook county jail in the city of Chicago. Under the old conditions the police courts and jails swarmed with children, who were herded with mature criminals. For several years the Chicago Woman's club had been maintaining a school in the Cook county jail, and the conditions that obtained convinced the club members that the system was not only foolish but wicked. They determined to make an effort to secure a distinction in the eyes of the law between the mature criminal and the irresponsible child. The club secured the services of an able jurist, the late Harvey B. Hurd. He drew a bill, which was indorsed by the Chicago Bar association and passed by the Legislature. The new law went into effect in 1899. The Juvenile court statute sets forth the power of the state to exercise through its courts of chancery its guardianship of the child. It establishes this guardianship over two classes of children—dependents and delinquents. A dependent child is not only one who is homeless, destitute, or abandoned; it is also dependent if it has not proper parental care, and if its home, by reason of the fault of its natural guardians, is not a fit place for it. A child is delinquent not only when it violates the law, but also when it is incorrigible, when it consorts knowingly with criminals, or when it is growing up in idleness and crime. The age limit of the original law, 16 years, has been raised to 18. The court does not sit as a court of law, but of chancery. The court merely assumes the guardianship of the child, and does not punish the delinquent, when not paroled it is sent to some reformatory institution. The traditional accompaniments of a law court are done away with; the chancellor is judge and jury, and practically all the machinery. This is the gist of the Illinois law of 1899, the basis of most of the laws of other states. Colorado made an important addition in the delinquent parent law, providing for the punishment of offending parents by the Juvenile court. Illinois in turn adapted this provision to local conditions.

In this new court the power intrusted to the presiding judge is enormous, but it is a characteristic of our American people that when an occasion arises the man is not wanting. This occasion has brought out at least two men of striking genius — Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, and Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago. Without attempting to compare the two men, one may say that the former does his marvelous work under more favorable conditions. Judge Lindsey, for example, has heard about two thousand cases in four years; Judge Mack hears about eight thousand cases a year. Judge Mack cannot personally stand in the place of parent to several thousand children; the intermediary is the probation officer. Most of these are women, and the club women have not only raised money for the payment of their salaries but have seen that the positions were filled with the right kind of women. Each officer is in charge of a district and about fifty boys. This officer visits the child's home and requires frequent reports from him. The plan in most states is to make the probation officer a paid employee of the court, the supposition being that the work of volunteers is not generally satisfactory. Indianapolis, however, has developed the volunteer system to a high state of efficiency under the Indiana law. There there are about 150 officers, and no one officer has more than three children under his charge; often there is but one. Recently in Chicago Judge Mack has supplemented the services of the regular officers by making probation officers of the members of the Visiting Nurse association, who last year ministered to fully seven thousand sick people in poor families — another beneficent work which the club women encourage with moral and financial support. Other cities in Illinois, including Springfield and Rockford, have Juvenile courts. In Iowa the Congress of Mothers, belonging to the state federation, took the lead in securing the Juvenile court law of that state. Ohio's law was passed in 1904, and the credit is largely due to its club women, the passage of the law having formed one of the paramount issues of club work in that state. The Michigan law, passed by the last Legislature, has been declared unconstitutional. The club women are preparing a new bill to be presented in 1907, and are pledged to see the fight through. Missouri has Juvenile courts in St. Louis and Kansas City, and to the united effort of the club women is due the existence of the law.

Out of the work of the Chicago Juvenile court has grown a new movement with the purpose of waging war on those conditions and persons contributing to the dependency and delinquency of children. It has just been organized and has hardly yet begun operations. The organization is chartered by the state under the name of the Juvenile Protective League of Chicago. The purposes of the league cannot be more concisely and comprehensively set forth than in the language of the charter, which is:

1. To organize auxiliary leagues within the boundaries of Cook county.
2. To suppress and prevent conditions and to prosecute persons contributing to the dependency and delinquency of children.
3. To co-operate with the Juvenile court, compulsory education department, state factory inspector, and all other child helping agencies.
4. To promote the study of child problems, and by systematic agitation through the press and otherwise to create a permanent public sentiment for the establishment of wholesome, uplifting agencies, such as parks, playgrounds, gymnasiums, free baths, vacation schools, communal school settlements, and the like.

Much is expected from this body. The board of directors numbers twenty-seven, and contains men and women prominent in Chicago reform work. Among them are Judge Mack, Judge Richard S. Tuthill, Judge Mack's predecessor in the Juvenile court; W. L. Bodine, superintendent of compulsory education; Miss Harriet Fulmer, president of the Visiting Nurses' association; Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons, and Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, who has given so generously to Hull House. There are also lawyers, police magistrates, and several prominent club women on the board. The work will be localized through the organization of branches, each branch exercising a direct supervision over a specified territory. The league will act as an aid to the police authorities in the suppression of vicious dance halls, disreputable fruit stores and ice cream parlors, and other resorts where children are exposed to dangerous influences; it will also be prepared to carry on independent prosecutions. An element of strength is that the work of the league will be entirely voluntary and no financial assistance will be asked. There will be no hired agents, the members taking upon themselves the burden of seeing that the laws framed for the pro-

tection of children are enforced. It is most devoutly to be hoped that out of this beginning will grow a movement destined to be as widespread as that of the Juvenile court.

Nor does the work of reclaiming and protecting the child stop here. The preliminary steps have been taken toward the organization of a National Juvenile Improvement Association, which is intended to be truly national in its scope. It is to be organized on lines suggested by Judge Lindsey, of Denver, and prominent in the movement are Judge Mack and Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House. All these facts would seem to indicate that society in general, and especially in the middle West, is beginning to awaken to its responsibility toward the child. These facts concerning the Juvenile courts and the movements growing out of their successful work are set forth beyond their proportionate length for the reason that some of them are new and because of the infinite possibilities that they suggest.

The protection of childhood is a cause very dear to the hearts of the middle West club women, and their efforts have been largely instrumental in bringing about comparatively favorable conditions in this territory. Child labor is a problem of national interest and importance, yet it is one that must be solved by each state for itself—a fact that adds many complications to an already intricate question. The conditions in the middle West are comparatively favorable because in general the child labor, compulsory education, and Juvenile court laws, which are complementary parts of the whole scheme of protection for the child, have been brought into fairly harmonious relationship. All of the six states have compulsory education laws; all have Juvenile court laws except Michigan, where the law enacted has been declared unconstitutional, and all have child labor laws—in Iowa the women got a law through the last Legislature and it went into effect July 1.

In Illinois, which stands third in manufactures among the states, the women have been both active and successful. The Illinois child labor law, which they were largely instrumental in securing, is generally regarded by humanitarians as the model law of its kind in the United States. It is also admirably enforced, there being nineteen factory inspectors, of whom six are women. The decrease in ten years is remarkable. In 1895 there was one child employed for every twenty-one adults; last year the propor-

tion was one to sixty-five. Last year there were 1,001 convictions in prosecutions for violations of the factory laws. Naturally there has been a large increase in the school attendance. The club women disposed of a bugbear when they promised scholarships to the children of dependent widows and in conjunction with the Consumers' League carried on investigations that showed this class to be very small, only eight being found in Chicago in two years. The Illinois women have also been largely instrumental in promoting measures that have resulted in a home for delinquent boys, a home for juvenile female offenders, classes for the deaf, and parental schools.

Indiana club women have recently secured an amendment to their child labor law prohibiting more than eight hours a day for children under 14 who are allowed to work in certain circumstances. They are working persistently for several other amendments. They have secured the passage of an anti-cigarette law. Michigan has a pretty good child labor law, which is generally enforced. There are two women factory inspectors. The women have secured women physicians in state institutions for women and children. In Missouri manufactures are increasing and the child labor law is being found to be unsatisfactory in several particulars. The women are working to remove conflicts between the factory laws and the compulsory education law; they also want stricter enforcement. Ohio is working in the direction of amending its child labor law by shortening the hours of labor. The women have lately secured legislation in behalf of the girls' industrial school and are making the introduction of modern methods in that institution an issue of the club work in the state.

Two bills that the club women of Illinois succeeded in getting through the last Legislature will materially increase the protection which the law is able to give to female children. One bill, presented by the Protective Agency for Women and Children, an offshoot of the Chicago Woman's club, made crimes of indecent offenses against children. To the credit of the Legislature it may be said that not a dissenting voice was raised. The other bill, presented in the name of the federated club women of the state, amended the existing statute by raising the age of consent from 14 years to 18. The course of this bill through the Legislature is worth a more extended review than can be given it here, inas-

much as it affords a good illustration of the difficulties met by women when they undertake to create new legislation that directly affects dominant man. The age of consent in Illinois had been 14 years since 1887. At every meeting of the Legislature since that year an amendment raising the age had been presented and had been smothered in committee. This bill narrowly escaped a like fate. It was introduced in the Senate and the Senators were practically unanimous in their promises to vote for it; of course, their mental reservation was "if it ever gets out of committee." The women in charge of the bill were allowed to plead their cause. Two features of the meeting were that many members of the committee who had promised support were "unavoidably absent," and that a lawyer from Chicago, who was not required to disclose the interests he represented, was allowed to make an elaborate attack on the proposed amendment. It quickly became evident that the committee would not favorably consider the raise to 18 years. On a compromise at 16 the result hung in doubt until the friendly chairman — Senator Juul, who introduced the bill — decided a tie vote on the motion to report the bill. Once before the Senate, the Senators stood by their promises and the bill was quickly passed unanimously. In the House the bill met with a reception far from friendly. The committee refused to hear the women in charge of the bill, and the program was silence and secrecy. The House committee, however, did not dare to kill the bill, and contented itself with adding several minor amendments apparently intended to afford loopholes of escape to offenders. When the amended bill was returned to the Senate the women, believing the amendments to be innocuous and regarding the raising of the age by two years as a substantial victory, requested that it be passed. The Senate vote was unanimous.

The amendment has now been in force for more than a year. It has been a great aid to all the organizations interested in protecting young girls and convictions have been frequent. Here is a remarkable case in point. A habitual offender against young girls, who aimed to keep out of the clutches of the law, misbehaved with five girls, two of whom were over 14 and under 16 and three under 14. He was prosecuted under both of the new laws — under the age of consent law as to two of the girls and under the crimes against children law as to the three. He was

sent to the penitentiary for a long term. His mistake consisted in his ignorance of the action of the Legislature; under the old conditions he would have escaped without punishment. In this connection it may be hazarded that ignorance in certain quarters of the introduction of the age of consent bill in the Legislature was its salvation. At any rate, so general was this ignorance that prosecutions continued in the police courts under the old style for some time after the amended law had gone into effect. The club women were actually obliged to print both laws and post them in police stations and police courts.

In this connection it should be stated that the very first legislation undertaken by the Iowa State federation was in 1894, when it petitioned the Legislature to raise the age of consent in that state from 15 to 18 years; the age was raised to 16. The Indiana federation has put itself on record that it stands for the raising of the age of consent in Indiana from 14 to 18.

The middle West club women have educated themselves in art, and have also made a brave effort to educate the coming generation. The traveling art collection and the art library have been a valuable agency in their own education. The art committee of the Illinois federation sent out four traveling art collections about eight years ago, and this is believed to be the first trial of the system. The scope of this system has been greatly enlarged. For example, Illinois, which may be taken as a typical state, has sent out a fine loan collection of American pottery and a loan collection of etchings and paintings; also three art reference libraries, the gift of the Arche club. Each art program at the annual federation meeting is an illustration of the course of study recommended by the committee, and for four years an arts and crafts exhibition has been held in connection with this meeting. In the direction of educating the school children the activities have been varied. The Indiana motto in the education of the young is "At least one good picture in every schoolroom in Indiana." The Ohio federation is pledged to promote art as a regular part of the state educational system. Iowa, which reports forty clubs devoting the entire club year to the study of art, gives art exhibitions for the benefit of the schools, and buys pictures for schoolrooms. The Chicago Woman's club raised an endowment fund

of \$1,500 for the Art institute for the benefit of girl graduates of the city high schools.

Civic improvement has been a popular form of activity among the clubs and every sort of public housecleaning has been undertaken in every kind of community from the country town to the big city. The club women have, among other things, cared for cemeteries, removed garbage, planted trees and shrubs and flowers, cleaned and sprinkled streets, distributed seeds, improved vacant lots, abated public nuisances, established and maintained parks and playgrounds, induced railway officials to beautify station grounds, and founded hospitals. If civic beauty is a tangible asset, the club women have added a great sum in the aggregate to the wealth of the community. In addition to this expenditure of time and effort, the total of their contributions in actual money to movements for civic improvement in the middle West in the last ten years runs into the millions.

Nor have the clubs confined their efforts to the physical community. They have attacked objectionable measures and championed good ones. Everywhere they have stirred lax and negligent municipal and state administrations to activity. Everywhere they have co-operated in important movements. The club women of Chicago, for example, were an important factor in the recent movement in that city that raised the saloon license fee to \$1,000 and thus gave the police department 1,000 more men, and will ultimately result in limiting the number of licenses to one for each 500 of population. In several of the large cities of the middle West are individual clubs of such large and influential membership, of such manifold public activity, of such fruitfulness in admirable offshoots that they may be truly termed great civic institutions. The temptation to set forth in detail the record of these civic institutions in the last decade is strong; they deserve well of the nation.

Civil service reform became a part of the club work of the middle West four years ago. The club women took it up in the belief that the permanence of many of the results they were achieving could not be assured except upon the basis of civil service laws embodying the merit system. They have, therefore, begun the work of educating the younger generation to an appreciation of its importance. They have also been making considerable in-

vestigation into the conditions in county and state institutions where civil service does not obtain, and have done a good deal of tentative work that will count later. The Indiana federation is actively working for a law for civil service in county and state institutions. The Missouri women expect to present a bill to the next Legislature. The Illinois women were largely instrumental in the passing of a law for civil service in state institutions. In general it may be said that there is an appreciable advance all along the line; extensions of civil service are frequent and violations of its spirit invariably evoke strong protest from the public.

Forestry is another comparatively new department of middle West club activity, at least as to the scientific phase of the question. Arboriculture and tree planting for decorative purposes, however, have long been a favorite work, and the club women have been largely instrumental in bringing about the general observance of Arbor day. As to scientific forestry for economic reasons, the interest varies in the several states. Iowa has a small amount of forest land and has shown little interest. Missouri has no law and does not regard forestry as a pressing question. The other four states, however, have ceased to regard forestry as merely "an academic question, impossible of commercial application." The Illinois club women introduced several forestry bills in the last Legislature without success, and will probably try again in 1907. Ohio has little forest left and can have no reserves until it creates them; the work in that state is along the line of wood lot tree planting. The Indiana club women are very much interested and are working for extension of the state forest reserve and increased appropriation for experimental work. Michigan, which has suffered shamefully at the hand of the lumberman, has a forestry commission and a large forest reserve; the club women are co-operating to bring about conditions that will make reforestation possible.

The traveling library has been a tremendous educational agency in the middle West. It was primarily intended for the benefit of the club women themselves, but its influence has been far reaching. Out of the movement have come state library commissions, permanent libraries of various kinds, and state appropriations. To the clubs is due at least the larger part of the credit for this wonderful growth. The Iowa women have been very active; the state library commission controls 12,000 volumes in trav-

eling libraries, of which 6,000 volumes are divided into miscellaneous libraries of fifty each, the remainder forming reference libraries. The state appropriates \$6,000 annually. The clubs have established eighty-one free public libraries and maintained many of them. In Mount Pleasant, for instance, the women, after supporting a free library for twenty-five years, have secured a tax and have turned over their 7,000 volumes to the city. Indiana has also accomplished much. Among other things the women secured the passage of a library bill in 1901 under which forty towns were enabled to accept Carnegie libraries. In Michigan the clubs co-operate with the commission; there are sixty traveling libraries and the state makes a liberal annual appropriation. In Ohio the women succeeded in 1897, after two years' work, in getting an appropriation of \$8,000 for the circulating of the state library at Columbus through the state; there are now 925 cases of from twenty-five to seventy-five volumes each in circulation. Missouri, which has forty traveling libraries, attempted to get a library commission bill through the last Legislature and failed. The disappointing failure of Illinois with its 270 libraries has been told.

This fragmentary and prosaic recital does scant justice to the record of the club movement in the middle West in the last decade, and of course it merely scratches the surface of the problems that confront the club women. In view of the facts here set forth there is no need of comment; they speak for themselves.

THE EFFECT OF CLUB WORK IN THE SOUTH

By MRS. A. O. GRANGER, Cartersville, Georgia.

In considering our subject we must be careful to remember that club work as now organized and federated is but a child. The State Federations throughout the South vary in age from four to twelve years.

Fifteen years ago the only clubs in existence among the women of the South were those formed for recreation, or for study among congenial friends or neighbors.

Women met then, as many of them do still, to study a favorite author and discuss his shades of meaning, without a thought of any responsibility beyond the home, church, and circle of friends. Warmhearted, and generous by nature, cases of need brought to their individual knowledge were kindly cared for, but no women's clubs had as yet assumed any part in the work of properly systematized social improvement.

There was no sudden rush of awakening, but the increase of railroad facilities and the consequent travel, combined with the wider dissemination of the daily paper, brought the impulse of the outside world even into remote villages. The coming of the telephone, and the rural free delivery of mail have not taken women away from their homes but have brought the wide world into close touch with the life of the family.

Women of intellectual keenness in the South could not be left out of the awakening of the women of the whole country to a realization of the responsibility which they properly had in the condition of their fellow-women and of the children.

Virginia, which might naturally have been expected to lead off in this work, is the only Southern State without a Federation of Women's Clubs, but individual clubs in that State, doing excellent work are undoubtedly the forerunners of a strong federation.

By a requirement of its constitution concerning the joining any

other organization, the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs has not yet become a member of the General Federation, but it works along similar lines with the other federations and is considered one with them.

In the remaining twelve federations in the South, including those in Oklahoma and Indian Territory there are six hundred and forty-seven individual clubs with an estimated membership of over twenty-five thousand women, and this number is constantly increasing.

It would be useless to enumerate the lines of work in each federation, since they are almost identical in purpose, with slight differences in name, and vary but little from those of the General Federation.

Each Federation has brought into its work the new committees which seemed of greatest value for its Clubs.

The Art work consisted in the first place of studying of the growth of art and its different periods and forms of development. Many clubs have done excellent study-work before reaching the second stage of distributing through the schools prints of the world's greatest masterpieces, often with a description or a poem accompanying the picture for which it was written.

The Texas Federation "supports a Travelling Art Gallery, which each year, exhibits to club towns subscribing, a different school of art. This year the exhibition is of French masters. During the five months' circuit seventy-two clubs were visited, and over twenty-two thousand children given an opportunity of seeing artistic works and hearing them explained by a capable conductress who accompanies the collection."

In many instances the pictures sent to schools are an aid to nature study, being especially prepared for school use. These represent birds, beasts, fishes, plants and rocks and being printed in the natural colours are a great delight to the children in the public schools. The nature pictures do not pass from place to place but are a gift to the school receiving them and highly appreciated by the children.

In like manner the clubs devoted to the study of literature have been important factors in the spread of good literature in three ways, through the "traveling libraries;" to villages and isolated schools to the smaller towns in the establishment of free

libraries; and in the large towns by hearty co-operation with the Carnegie or any other city library. The traveling libraries go about among the country schools and villages, and are in charge of the teachers receiving them from the clubs. Tennessee has over one hundred traveling libraries and is constantly increasing the number. Texas has sixty-five, and all of the other states are doing similar work. Arkansas has only recently undertaken library work but has one dozen libraries now traveling and is raising funds for a "Reciprocity Library." The latter corresponds with what in Georgia is called its Federation Library and consists of books of reference upon the subjects embraced by the federation committees—the different sections of this library go for a season to the club requesting the books as an aid to study. In Georgia a number of clubs have traveling libraries varying in number but with a total in the Federation approximating one hundred volumes. South Carolina also has one hundred libraries, while Kentucky reports eighty-four. The popularity of these books, the eagerness of their welcome where there is no other library is shown from the fact that the ones longest in circulation through the territory have become quite dilapidated, and several federations report that the traveling library committees need funds to replenish the sections even more than to fit out new libraries! In Georgia the valuable library and gardening work along the route of the Seaboard Air-Line R. R. was founded by and is still in charge of one of the charter members of the Georgia Federation.

Naturally from this library work there has sprung a desire to possess buildings properly equipped for this branch of the work as well as for many other uses which constantly arise for a gathering place. Consequently, each year sees an addition to the number of club houses where the meetings are held, the books of the circulating library kept for distribution, and whence the traveling libraries may start upon their journeys. These buildings are unpretentious, but truly artistic because well-adapted for the required uses and sufficiently ornamental to arouse the pride of all citizens in them. The writer knows one which is a beautiful log cabin and cost but six hundred dollars, yet it is the pride of the little town and a delight to passing travelers.

The club women of the South are also working for the improvement of our public schools, especially those in the rural dis-

tricts. Many scholarships in Normal Schools and Universities have been obtained by the club members and filled by some one whom they deemed worthy to be prepared as a thoroughly trained teacher. This step has been taken because women saw the need of better training for the teachers both for the sake of the pupils and that there might be an equivalent given for the better salaries which club women are striving to bring about for the country teachers who are generally far too poorly paid.

Kindergartens have become a part of woman's work in some of the larger towns as well as throughout the states and are becoming a more important part of the school system.

The Texas Federation has within the last two years put the kindergarten work among the standing committees. "Pioneer work is over with us and a State Kindergarten Association, two training schools, sixty kindergartens, and industrial and settlement work, besides the submitting of a bill to the legislature asking that this form of education be made a part of the public school system, have been the arduous labours of this untiring committee. Only one city however, El Paso, has succeeded in incorporating the kindergarten with the public schools."

The addition of manual training and Nature study to the curriculum of the rural schools is producing a revolution in the feeling of the children toward the schools. This, where properly carried out, does not increase the burden of studies for the children—instead, there is a perceptible gain in the mental alertness of a pupil whose hand also is allowed to learn new uses, and whose whole outlook on life is broadened by this addition.

Basketry, sewing and weaving have mingled with them gay threads of history and geography which will shine out more and more through the passing years, never to be forgotten. The whole wide world comes right into the schoolroom when the children realize that the raphia in their fingers came from Madagascar, and that it might have come from Borneo; those far away islands are nearby when one of the children has traced upon a globe the route from their school-house to the palm groves where the huge leaves grow from whose stems the fibre is stripped. In cooking, the children learn the relative values of foods as well as their preparation. It was while eating vegetable soup made by a lad of twelve, that the guests of one school were told that the corn from "out

West" contained an excess of fat-producing material while that raised in Georgia was more muscle-producing.

Work in Music is carried on very successfully in some of the Southern Federations—club women not only give their own attention to the best of music, but by means of scholarships obtained from those gifted in teaching, and by loans of music to the pupils, pass on the training to others.

In close connection with the school work is that of Household Economics—the department in which our club women study the very latest phases of the duties in and around our homes which are so vital to us and our children. The pure-food laws are just as important for the South as for any other part of the country and any bills of that nature receive the influence of the club women.

The work of Civic Improvement is one by which the women are waking the people of the South to the commercial as well as the artistic value of beauty in our towns, and the importance of perfect sanitation being the aim of every place. School Gardens and procuring parks for towns also come within the duties of this committee and these states are dotted with parks and gardens which show how effective this work has been.

Civil Service Reform is a subject which is still quite new to most of the Southern club women, as the committees on that subject have only been formed within the last two years—but already the women appreciate the subject and are doing good work. They are trying to create an enlightened public opinion which shall place the Civil Service of our country upon an equitable, honorable basis. None of the women in our country are better fitted to realize the value of the merit system than the women of the South, and it is hoped that they will wield a powerful influence in this direction. Not only from the ordinary view-point can woman see this subject, but also from her desire to place the Civil Service upon the same level of public esteem as the branches that work in war. The Army and the Navy have leaders who have been educated and maintained at the public expense; they give us protection from foreign foes, but how important it is that the men who preserve domestic peace, who guard our homes, and cities, and counties, shall also be men beyond reproach; that they shall be chosen for their fitness and then shall be sure of their retention in office "for life or good behaviour"; men who cannot be bought

by the powers of evil, and who shall be free from all fear lest fulfilling their duty may cost them their position!

The club women who used to study Shakespeare have been looking around them upon life's stage. They are finding through their study of civic conditions that an enormous number of life's players are performing their parts under adverse circumstances. Seeing this the club women of the South have joined their sisters all over the Union in demanding improvement in the industrial conditions of women and the abolition of Child Labor. In every state except Georgia* there is now protection for the little ones; to at least a slight extent, from the greed of unrighteous employers and the laziness of loafing fathers.

The enforcement of the existing Child Labor laws, and their improvement as soon as possible, and the passage of one in Georgia — also the passage of a Compulsory Education law, as a great preventive of Child Labor are two of the most momentous subjects in the work of the club women of the South. In spite of the laws the number of children who are working by day and by night in the South is increasing. Observation shows that even these few years of manufacturing development of the South have brought deterioration to many of the white children. The wife of the manager of a mill said to the superintendent that a certain small girl at work did not look as if she were twelve years old. "Yes — she's fifteen, I know, for she has worked for me for years in another town!" thus himself proving the dwarfing effect of cotton mill work upon young children. Club women are doing their best in this work for the children — but is it not all for them? The public lectures given in the public schools of New Orleans, by a club woman, were a great aid in preventing the further spread of the yellow fever because it enabled the parents and children to understand the necessity for quarantine, and for the cleansing of the yards and streets. Perhaps when the parents of mill-children learn that the government is determined to protect their children from working while infants, and why they forbid it, they too will acquire a new dignity and keep the law.

Says a prominent official in the North — "While men have been quarreling over the money question and the tariff, the women have

* At time of writing this was true. At proofreading, a very excellent bill has been passed by the Legislature of Georgia.

been safeguarding humanity" — and they have done it as club women without regard to other affiliations — it is the greatest force for making us all one, without regard to creed or politics — and it is equally true of the work in the South.

This is shown by the work done for the proper treatment of minors who have broken the law. The efforts of the club women of Atlanta, Georgia were principally responsible for the establishment of a reformatory in their county. Two years later, aroused by the visit of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, they were influential in creating the public opinion which demanded a Juvenile Court which is now in successful operation, saving children from contact with criminals in the stockade and chain-gang, and preparing them for useful citizenship. A lad who had formerly been very troublesome was asked by his mother, "What makes you so good now that you are on probation?" The quick reply was, "I have to be or the Judge would lose his job!" That is the secret of the work for the children having Judges and probation officers of tact, who are filled with real love for children and a desire to save them. In Texas the women are working to procure state legislation installing the Juvenile Courts. In the city of Dallas the club women themselves raised the money for the payment of a police matron in order to show the civic authorities the value of having such protection for the women and girls who are under arrest.

The interest in these subjects is deepening in all our federations and the work done is slowly increasing in effectiveness.

The work of the "Arts and Crafts" committees throughout the south has developed the fact that there are in farm homes, sometimes far from towns, women of marked ability in certain lines of handiwork. In Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia many of the women in the mountains are still able to do the intricate weaving of days long-gone-by, and they are greatly pleased to find appreciation of their work and a market for it. "Drawn-work" too is done equal to the best sent from Mexico and sold to or through club women, while the "shuck hats" are not only artistically beautiful by being made in graceful shapes, but of home-grown materials.

"Social Settlement" work is found in New Orleans and is wonderfully successful there, but the only Southern Federation

which has a Social Settlement committee is Tennessee. Its work in Walker's Valley is not only useful in itself but has by its value secured the founding of a similar settlement in the Tennessee mountains under the care of the Federation of Massachusetts. That fact brings us to one of the most beautiful effects of club work — namely, the unity of feeling with the women of one whole country. Nominally divided by sectional lines they know none such. Massachusetts has her foster-child in Tennessee, and another in Georgia where her Federation provides the Industrial Training in the Model School at Cass Station which is appropriately called "The Massachusetts-Georgia Model School."

The description of this work is almost a portrayal of its effect. We can claim, without fear of contradiction, that no Southern club woman has ever expressed her regret at having "wasted four hours at a meeting of the State Federation" as a popular author has quoted an Eastern friend. The club to which a Southern woman belongs may be purely literary, or devote itself to travel-study, but she has nevertheless felt the influence of the work of her Federation. The children in the little country schools of whom she knew nothing before, have now become of deep interest to her through the work of her State Federation.

There was no manual training in the country schools of Georgia, and no emphasis laid upon it in any school in the state until two scholarships had been presented to the Georgia Federation by great Northern training schools. When the diplomas for domestic science and manual training had been earned, the faithful work done by the two young ladies thus fitted, Miss Emily Wilburn and Miss Isabel Thursby, proved a valuable object lesson to the educational authorities of the state. The two teachers now in charge of the Massachusetts-Georgia Model School were trained in the State Normal School at Athens. The day of complete training for eye and head and hand and heart has come to the children of Georgia through its Federation of Women's Clubs. Surely a worthy effect of club work. Similar work in all of the Southern states has had an effect upon the children, but perhaps even more upon the women. Without neglecting their homes, without becoming mannish or losing one charm of their womanhood, the club women of the South have become broadened and their work has made them a recognized force wherever they dwell. Their as-

sistance is sought for every movement which may be helpful to the state or country and they no longer shrink from expressing themselves upon the subjects vital to society.

Texas stands for us all when "The Lone Star Federation asserts that it stands for the highest and truest type of womanhood — that which lends her voice as well as her hand."

Hospitals, almshouses — or "county-farms" and all public institutions for the unfortunate are coming more quickly than supposed into their proper status of public trusts, and largely because of the interest of the women. There is a constant increase in the demands made upon the women's clubs by those most interested in civic progress, and the help given to the clubs by the authorities of the towns is an equal proof of the appreciation of their work.

Women's clubs in the South have brought the women into partnership with their husbands and brothers in the civic responsibility of caring for the unfortunate, and of raising the standard of thought and action about all other "national housekeeping" problems.

As the ranks of church workers contain many club women, those associations are brought more closely into touch with the life outside of their immediate line of work, and in the South the reciprocal interest is very great. There certainly are times when the decision must be made as to which is the more important work of the moment but the conscientious club woman makes her decision calmly for club work is also God's work for home — for our land, for all who need us.

THE WORK OF THE WOMEN'S CLUBS IN CALIFORNIA

BY DOROTHEA MOORE

The earliest activities of the women of the Pacific coast—especially in San Francisco, its largest centre—were begun in an organization called the California Club of California. This was organized on the same general lines as the Chicago Woman's Club and had it for model and inspiration.

The first meeting was held in San Francisco at the house of Mrs. Lovell White about ten years ago. At that meeting a few women were present and the club had neither means nor position—nothing in fact but good intentions. It was organized purely for broad civic work and has been continued on these lines until today when it has over five hundred members, a fine club house and an enviable position among the recognized civic forces of the state.

So much space is given to it not for personal reasons but because it was the pioneer club and has set the standard for the many which have followed it.

A list of its activities would make an article in itself, as it has actively concerned itself in every movement of a rapidly growing city as well as in legislative movements for the entire state.

Its first modest action was the holding of a flower market in the central public square with music, etc. This was successful and led to a movement for a public playground. Such a playground was opened and maintained by it until its success induced the city to take it over and to equip others. The first Arts and Crafts Exhibit was held under its auspices and here for the first time the Club had civic recognition, receiving money from the State Board of Trade for its initial expenses and returning the same at the close of a successful exhibit. From this time on The Merchants' Association recognized the Club in all public movements, and it had entire command of the press. School rooms were decorated, traveling libraries and portfolios were sent to towns and schools through

the state, music was provided for the parks and numerous minor civic matters kept going in the city. A larger activity was then begun in the State. Bills for the protection of bird life and for the protection of the forests were passed, women physicians were placed in the Insane Asylums and Homes for the Feeble Minded and the greater part of the work for a Juvenile Court and better Child Labor Laws was done with the aid of the State Federation, now formed for six years, and having eleven thousand members.

Some three years ago an Out Door Art League was formed, affiliated with the national society of that name. This has also done splendid special work for forestry and the Big Trees bill in Washington.

This organization has planted school yards, cleaned up vacant yards, had 200 unsightly poles removed from the city streets, secured the care and cleaning of the ocean front, helped actively in the famous fight for the retention of the street flower markets, now fully secured by city ordinance, secured many thousand votes for the purchase and preservation of Telegraph Hill, a noted historic spot, threatened by destruction from a greedy corporation—secured over one million names for the petition to President concerning the preservation of the Calaveras Big Tree Grove, secured \$5,000 to park and plant the grounds and street about the Mission Dolores and at present is planting vines and having trees planted on the barren slopes belonging to the Federal Government of Yerba Buena Island.

The Out Door Art League—in the interest of union and strength, recently joined its membership to that of the California Club and together the Clubs are carrying on civic work. A bill is now before the national Congress trying to secure for California the five percent for the sale of school lands which other states have enjoyed.* The clubs are working also for parental schools, the prevention of tuberculosis, including a state sanatorium; against an overhead trolley system for San Francisco, etc., etc.

Three clubs in the Alameda district own club-houses, four are building; nearly all the others are laying by funds to that end.

The altruistic work of these clubs has been to assist in securing women physicians in insane asylums and homes for feeble minded throughout the state; to donate money to the Club House

* At time of proofreading this bill had passed Congress.

Loan Fund; to help pay the probation officer in the county; to sign petitions for forest protection; to send out circulating libraries. One has given a well-selected library to an Indian school, one supports a hospital bed, several clubs are doing extensive tree-planting and interesting themselves in other lines of city improvement. One young, ambitious, and successful club has secured a high school for its town, and established kitchen gardens in vacant lots. One club has done wonderful work through its sewing schools, cooking schools, and summer schools,—all conducted in the club house. Another has provided a probation officer for adults and matrons for women in jails and prisons.

In the San Joaquin Valley District hundreds of trees have been set out along the highways.

The southern portion of the State, especially in Los Angeles, had done much for child labor legislation and most of all for the Consumers' League movement. The little club of Vallejo owned and managed a fire engine until the town authorities got ashamed and got one of their own.

The women of Los Angeles as organized did the important work of educating public opinion so strongly in the election of a non-partizan school board as to make the election secure.

Juvenile court workers in Los Angeles County are rejoicing over the passage of the bill which provides for the payment by the county of the salaries of two probation officers. This brings relief to the club women who have been supporting this object, and civic workers report most satisfactory progress. Plans are in formation to secure a field secretary whose duty shall be to obtain homes for such children as are deemed in need of same. Also it is purposed to build a detention home.

The Outdoor Art Section of the Civic Federation has obtained, through the efforts of its chairman, a public playground, 300 feet square, for the children of Los Angeles, equipped it with an artistic house for the superintendent, a very complete outdoor gymnasium, merry-go-rounds, swings, teeter-boards, tennis and hand-ball courts and a baseball diamond. Ground for a second playground has been secured. The Outdoor Art Section has also inaugurated a garden contest, plants, seeds and vines being given out from five centers to over 1,000 children. Prizes aggregating \$150.00 have been offered for the best gardens of various sizes.

The special district civic work this year will be the publication of a pamphlet containing the California Laws for Women and Children. Experienced lawyers will edit this volume and it is hoped to place a copy in the hands of at least every club woman in the district.

The formation of the new state Art Committee has stimulated interest along art lines. Under the leadership of the Ruskin Art Club, the club women of Los Angeles have secured a new organization whereby the women of the Southwest will build a permanent art gallery in Los Angeles or some site in Southern California to be determined upon later. This is the successful result of the earnest and faithful efforts so long put forth by the Ruskin Art Club toward the establishment of an institution wide-spreading in its influence for broadened culture.

Many clubs are occupying their own club houses, notably the Contemporary Club of Redlands, the La Jolla Woman's Club, the Wednesday and San Diego Clubs of San Diego, the Saturday Afternoon Club of Monrovia, The Ebell of Long Beach, the Shakespeare Club of Pasadena, and the Ebell of Los Angeles. The last mentioned has been handled so fortunately and wisely, that its Building Association has just declared a twenty-five per cent dividend to stockholders.

The California Federation has contributed \$1,000.00 to the Club House Loan Fund at Berkeley. This amount has been used to furnish and equip a Club House for women students at the State University. When the returns reach one thousand dollars, another house is furnished, and thus a perpetual fund is established. One club, through its interest in our Club House Loan Fund, has decided to investigate the subject, "The housing of women students at all of our state universities."

In every town and city the clubs have now an acknowledged position for which they no longer need to fight and which they must now merely keep fresh and confident with ever more and wiser effort.

The west is an easy field—the men are willing partners and have always been generous and kindly advisers and aids.

As the management of legislation comes to be better understood more legislation will be attempted and proposed in a way to win success. Civil service in the whole state is what ought to be the great next thing, for it is the basis of all the best civic life.

WORKINGWOMEN AND THE LAWS: A RECORD OF NEGLECT

JOSEPHINE C. GOLDMARK

National Consumers' League.

An attempt to show in tabular form how the various states have protected by law the rapidly growing body of working women in this country, illustrates the insufficiency and meagreness of such laws.

Necessarily this compilation omits all reference to statutes gradually secured for the health and safety of working men, and which working women *ipso facto* share. These laws provide for sanitation, ventilation and lighting, for fire-escapes and a noon hour, in some states for the guarding of dangerous machinery, for forced ventilation, payment of wages, reporting of accidents, and other similar measures.

The Census of 1900 showed that, during the preceding decade, young workingwomen increased at a more rapid rate than any other class of workers; that one-half of the 5,000,000 wage-earning women were girls under the age of 25 years; that while the largest percentage of workingmen were adults in the prime of strength between 25 and 34 years of age, the largest percentage of working "women" were between 16 and 21 years of age. No plea can show more clearly than this fact, the urgent need of special legislation in their behalf — young, inexperienced and helpless themselves — to improve their conditions of labor.

The two most important elements in the employment of women with which legislation deals are, 1 Nightwork, 2 The length of the working day.

Nightwork

The dangers of nightwork are twofold, physical and moral. In the deplorable absence of medical records, the effect of occupation, nightwork and overtime upon health cannot be proved by

statistics. But the physical injury is attested by all physicians whose practice brings them into contact with working girls. Anaemia, nervous exhaustion and general susceptibility to disease are not difficult to trace to unrepaired loss of sleep due to night labor. Moreover, ill-health among working girls is more wide spread than is known to physicians and clinics, as the ignorance and fear of these workers keep them from seeking medical assistance as long as possible. The direct effect of nightwork on health may be observed in one occupation where such work is as unavoidable as it is well-arranged, that is hospital nursing. Even in hospitals where night duty is carefully regulated—a period of three months being considered excessive—and where night nurses are required to rest and sleep during the daytime, their standard of health is distinctly below that of the day nurses. Nervous fatigue and susceptibility to disease are admittedly greater. How then can it be otherwise in employments for instance such as binderies, laundries and textile mills, where nightwork is long continued for women whose home conditions make adequate rest by day impossible? The lowered vitality or chronic ill-health which results is a sinister endowment, particularly for the large number of girls who marry after a few years of work.

The *moral* dangers of nightwork are so obvious that they need only be mentioned: the danger of the streets at night, going to and from work; association with all kinds of men employees at late night hours; the difficulty for women who are away from their families, of living at respectable places and entering at night hours; the peril of the midnight recess in establishments that run all night long.

Such being in brief, some physical and moral detriments of nightwork, what has been done by legislation to protect women and young girls?

Only four of the 52 states and territories specifically forbid the employment of women at night. A fifth state (Ohio) prohibits nightwork of girls under 18 years. New Jersey prohibits nightwork in bakeries for girls under 18 years.

Work at Night Prohibited

Between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., in Indiana, for all women in manufacture.

Between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., in Massachusetts, for all women in manufacture.

Between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., in Nebraska, for all women in manufacture and commerce.

Between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m., in New York for all women in manufacture.

Between 10 p. m. and 7 a. m., in New York, for women under 21 years in commerce.

Between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m., in Ohio, for girls under 18 years at any gainful occupation.

Between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m., in New Jersey for girls under 18 years in bakeries.

Work at Night Not Prohibited

Alabama	Louisiana	Oregon
Alaska	Maine	Pennsylvania
Arizona	Maryland	Rhode Island
Arkansas	Michigan	South Carolina
California	Minnesota	South Dakota
Colorado	Mississippi	Tennessee
Connecticut	Missouri	Texas
Delaware	Montana	Utah
District of Columbia	Nevada	Vermont
Florida	New Hampshire	Virginia
Georgia	New Jersey (except in	Washington
Hawaii	bakeries)	West Virginia
Idaho	New Mexico	Wisconsin
Illinois	North Carolina	Wyoming
Indian Territory	North Dakota	
Iowa	Ohio (except for girls	
Kansas	under 18)	
Kentucky	Oklahoma	

When Childhood Ends

The principle of protecting *children* from nightwork has so far gained ground, that 20 states have forbidden their employment at night, to specified ages. But childhood ends early according to the statutes. In South Carolina, for instance, childhood ends upon the 12th birthday and after that date little girls may

legally be employed every night, from sunset to sunrise, for the rest of their lives, being no longer children in the eyes of the law. That the 12th birthday is actually the time when childhood ends, and that thereafter a little girl is a woman fit to work 12 hours at night, few people would directly affirm. Childhood, taken as the period of physical development, does not end upon the 12th birthday, nor yet upon the 14th. The pressure of industry tends to set as low as possible, in the statutes, the age when childhood nominally ends, in order to make available as early as may be the cheap labor of children at night. This is especially true in states whose industries call for the labor of children, and where public opinion against night work is not yet outspoken. South Carolina protects children at night only to the 12th birthday; Alabama to the 13th; Arkansas, Texas and Virginia to the 14th. Even enlightened Massachusetts still fails to protect from nightwork children over 14 years in certain employments. Other states forbid nightwork in *all* gainful occupations to the 16th birthday, and it is legitimate to presume that this age limit will soon be accepted for all legislation on the work and education of children. But the glaring need of protecting the very young should not be allowed to conceal the no less poignant, if less well recognized need of such legislation for girls *over* 16 years.

Legislation On Nightwork Abroad

In America, then, but four states have laws prohibiting nightwork for women, and such legislation is viewed with general hostility by employers. This fact brings into greater prominence the movement abroad for a total and worldwide prohibition of nightwork for women in industrial establishments. In May, 1905, there met at Berne, Switzerland, representatives of most of the civilized governments, except the United States and Japan, to draw up a definite international agreement prohibiting nightwork for women and establishing a 12-hour period of rest at night. This meeting was called by the Swiss government at the request of the International Association for Labor Legislation, and was composed of representatives sent by the following countries, viz.: Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Holland, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Discussion covered the physical and moral need of

such an agreement for the preservation of the race, and the greater efficiency of workingwomen; the industries to be included; the necessary exemptions to be made; the effect on competition for world markets, etc. It was decided to include in the projected agreement all industrial establishments employing more than 10 persons. It was decided further that a specified period of at least 11 consecutive hours for rest at night be provided, beginning not later than 10 p. m. and closing not earlier than 5 a. m. An interval of 3 to 10 years (according to the state of the industries affected) is to be allowed before the international agreement goes into effect; the exemptions such as industries using materials liable to spoil, or "season-trades," are strictly defined; the agreement is to be ratified by the participating governments by December, 1907.

The lasting value of this Conference is explained by the Bulletin of the New York State Department of Labor (Dec. 1905); "As the conference came to a definite agreement on each question, its recommendations are likely to have great influence and may lead to the arrangement of international treaties to carry out the purpose of the resolutions. The way for such treaties has been paved by the Franco-Italian treaty of April 15, 1904, whereby Italy agreed to reduce the hours of labor in manufactories and to institute an effective system of factory inspection, while France renounced the unequal treatment of Italian workmen under the French system of accidental insurance and assured better protection to Italian children in France. 'The treaty,' says Secretary Bauer, 'was negotiated by two eminent members of our Association, Messrs. Fontaine and Luzzatti—and was the direct outcome of the work of the Association, the framers having begun negotiations at the Cologne meeting in 1902.'"

American Legislation

In contrast to this epoch making movement, a continued policy of indifference to the subject in this country seems impossible. Yet the health and industrial efficiency of workingwomen has in most states been subordinated to political and legal considerations invoked by interested employers. It is true that as long ago as 1876 the Massachusetts court upheld the law of that state, forbidding employment of women between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. But

a few years ago the admirable New Jersey law which protected women and minors in manufacture from nightwork and established a 55-hour week, was repealed. The excellent New York provision forbidding employment of all women and minors at night in factories, is, at the date of writing, attacked in the courts on the ground of constitutionality. A similar law was declared unconstitutional in Illinois in 1895, as imposing unwarranted restrictions upon the right to contract.

After that decision, women of all ages were for several years worked in Chicago during the whole night, or until any hour of the morning, in an establishment whose employees in New York City were dismissed at the legal closing hour, 10 o'clock.

If now the New York law is declared unconstitutional, the highest court of that state will again place the barren right of the individual to contract even for the hurt of herself and the community, above the beneficent power of the state to enact a far reaching health law. The Berne Conference has shown how vital to workingwomen is such a law in the eyes of civilized Europe. Is it credible that American industries are *obliged* to use up the lives of workingwomen while foreign competitors can provide this essential of health—an 11-hour night for sleep, not work? In a noble decision upholding the constitutionality of a law restricting hours of labor in mines, the Supreme Court of the United States defined (*Re Holden vs. Hardy*) the right of the state to abridge individual right of contract:

“But the fact that both parties are of full age, and competent to contract, does not necessarily deprive the state of the power to interfere, where the parties do not stand upon an equality, or where the public health demands that one party to the contract shall be protected against himself. The state still retains an interest in his welfare, however reckless he may be. The whole is no greater than the sum of all the parts, and when the individual health, safety, and welfare are sacrificed or neglected, the state must suffer.”

Meanwhile it is significant that in all cases affecting the constitutionality of laws restricting hours of labor, the assailants of the law have not been laborers striving for the privilege of nightwork or unrestricted hours, but employers to whose advantage it is for them so to labor. When nightwork for women is

prohibited, employers must replace them with men (who are usually paid "time and a half" or "double time"), or must increase the day force. Either alternative means increase of expense; hence invasion of employees' "rights" are discovered by unscrupulous employers in any law prohibiting unlimited hours. But the "right" to work all day and all night, apparently assuring the individual's liberty, means in practice sheer inability to refuse to work whatever length of time the employer may choose. For refusal means dismissal. As has been well said, the "right" to work unlimited hours amounts to the "right" to lose one's job—a barren privilege!¹ On the other hand when law forbids night-work or unrestricted hours for women, industry ultimately adjusts itself to the requirement. The same specious argument is used—that "rights" are invaded—when laws against child labor are enacted. As the brief in defense of the child labor law recently attacked in California, says:² "There has been no cry of oppression, no contention that the rights of any citizen or of any child were invaded thereby, except such contention came from some individual from whom the law was about to exact a penalty for its violation . . . it would be with better grace if the solicitude for the invaded rights of children came from the children themselves, or their parents, or from someone who is not pecuniarily interested in the invalidity of the law under which it is sought to show the rights of children are invaded."

Laws Restricting Hours of Labor

The enlightened European countries are as far in advance of the United States in fixing by statute the length of the working day, as they are in existing or prospective laws on night work for women.

Yet a limitation of working hours is, like the prohibition of nightwork, conspicuously necessary to preserve the health of workingwomen. The enormous increase of output in manufacture which has been held a national distinction and superiority, means primarily increase in speed, with a corresponding demand

¹ See "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation," Chap. III, Florence Kelley, and "Some Equivocal Rights of Labor," Geo. W. Alger, *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1906.

² *Crim. Nos. 1331 and 1332, Supreme Court of California.*

upon the attention and strength of the operator. The nervous strain involved in attending highly speeded modern machines can be compensated only by lessening the daily hours of application to such exacting labor.

In this country only 19 states have laws restricting hours of labor by the day and by the week.

Work Restricted by the Day and by the Week

Work Restricted to

- 10 hours in 24, 54 hours in one week, in California, for minors under 18 years in any place of labor.
- 10 hours in one day, 55 hours in one week, in Ohio, for girls under 18 years in factories and stores, or any other establishment.
- 10 hours in 24, 58 hours in one week, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, for all women in manufacture.
- 10 hours in 24, 60 hours in one week, for New York, for all women in factories and girls between 16 and 21 years in stores; in Nebraska for all women in factories, stores, hotels and restaurants; in Connecticut, for all women in factories and stores; in Louisiana, Maine and New Hampshire, for all women in factories; in Michigan for all girls under 21 years in stores and factories; in Indiana for girls under 18 years in stores, factories, laundries, bakeries or printing offices; in New Jersey for girls under 18 years in bakeries.
- 12 hours in 24, 60 hours in one week, in Pennsylvania, for women in all except mine, domestic and farm labor (10 hours in 24, between Dec. 5th and 24th).

Five other states restrict the labor of women to a specified number of hours in the twenty-four, but fail to restrict labor by the week, thus inviting the twofold evil of work by night, and of work every night in the week including Sunday.

Work Restricted by the Day Only

Work Restricted to

- 8 hours in 24, in Colorado, for women in all employments requiring them to stand.

10 hours in 24, in Maryland, for women in cotton and woolen mills ;
in North Dakota, Virginia and Washington for women
in all employments.

No Time Limit

Work Restricted Neither by the Day Nor by the Week

Alabama	Missouri
Alaska	Montana
Arizona	Nevada
Arkansas	New Jersey (except in bakeries)
Delaware	New Mexico
District of Columbia	North Carolina
Florida	Oklahoma
Georgia	Oregon
Hawaii	South Carolina
Idaho	Tennessee
Illinois	Texas
Indian Territory	Utah
Iowa	Vermont
Kansas	West Virginia
Kentucky	Wisconsin
Minnesota	Wyoming
Mississippi	

These laws, unless reinforced by the prohibition of nightwork as in Massachusetts, Indiana, New York and Nebraska, do not limit the working hours to the daytime, and accordingly the 10 hours specified may be 10 hours at night. Indeed the statutes of Oregon and Washington expressly state that women may be employed 10 hours at *any time*, and they have in consequence been employed in Washington for almost 20 consecutive hours in a mill—a period supposedly divided into two days' labor by the convenient line of midnight.

Again, the existing statutes in five of the fourteen states exclude all adult workers from the protection of the law. California, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Maine legislate for girls under 18 or 21 years of age, leaving women above these ages entirely unprotected.

But it is on the ground of *sex* no less than of *age* that pro-
(269).

tection from overwork is needed. No woman of any age can toil for a 12 or 15 hour day in a laundry, for instance, involving the heaviest physical exertion, without physical injury. No woman should be employed more than 10 hours a day at less taxing employments.

Besides these general omissions, the existing laws are marred, and some made worthless by the damaging special exceptions they allow. If women are restricted to ten hours labor in one day, *except* when overtime is allowed to make one shorter work day in the week (supposedly a Saturday half-holiday), such an exception is merely a license to evade the law. Without an army of inspectors such as nowhere exists to see whether overtime is fairly compensated by off-time each week, the exception is manifestly impossible of strict enforcement. Eight states destroy the possibility of enforcing their laws by such exceptions:

California, Connecticut, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York and Rhode Island.

Posting the Laws

Most states prescribe penalties for violation of these laws — either fines ranging from \$10 to \$100 for each offense, or fine and imprisonment. Many states also require that the laws be conspicuously posted in each workroom. This is a most efficient aid to enforcement, when the presence of employees on the premises after the hours posted therein, is *prima facie* evidence of the violation of the law. This method (especially as used in Massachusetts) saves the factory inspectors much time since they need show no other evidence of overtime employment.

Seats

Essential to the health and well being of women is the usage of sitting while at work, whenever possible. Where the nature of the occupation makes this impracticable for the whole period, much is gained if seats are provided and employees are permitted to use them at intervals, as in the "slack" times of the day for salesclerks and waitresses. Twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring seats for women, but few of them are so drawn or so enforced as to be of real value. The existence of the seats may easily be required, liberty to use them

as easily denied. Statutes should require employers to provide not merely "suitable seats" as most of the laws are worded, but a specified number, such as one to every worker if possible, or one to every three workers. They should be fixed seats with backs, instead of boxes and other makeshifts, permissible under many laws.

States which Require Seats

a. In all places of employment:

District of Columbia	Nebraska
Indiana	Pennsylvania
Minnesota	West Virginia
Michigan	

b. In stores and factories:

Alabama (stores only)	New Hampshire
California	New York (for waitresses also)
Colorado	Ohio
Connecticut	Oregon
Iowa	Rhode Island
Kansas (stores only)	South Carolina (stores only)
Louisiana	Tennessee (stores only)
Maine	Utah (stores only)
Maryland (Baltimore only)	Washington (schools also)
Massachusetts	Wisconsin
Missouri	

Toilet Facilities

Laws concerning proper and separate toilet facilities affect women working in factories, stores and all other establishments — measures demanded by mere decency, but too often unobserved, even in the 16 states where supposedly required by law.

States Which Require Separate Toilet Facilities

1. *Applies to both toilets and dressing-rooms.*

Indiana	Ohio
Michigan	Pennsylvania
Minnesota	Rhode Island
Missouri	Tennessee
New Jersey	West Virginia
New York	Wisconsin

2. *Applies to toilets only.*

California

Massachusetts

Iowa

Tennessee

Sweatshops

It has been shown that 19 states of the 52 legislate in some degree concerning women's *hours* of labor. All these laws however, besides their other omissions, fail to reach a very large and increasing number of workingwomen who labor in sweatshops or in tenement homes. Tenement industries, in the main, rest upon the home work of married women. This labor proves the chief exception to the rule which distinguishes American from foreign industry: the general absence of married women in manufacture and commerce. Our workingwomen include so large a proportion of young girls under 25 years, because in this country, women who marry after a short or long period of work, are supported by their husbands and replaced at work by a new set of young wage earners. A small percentage embracing textile workers and cigar makers continue in their trades after marriage. Conspicuous and newly arising exceptions to this rule, are the stockyards, and the canneries in which married women, often with their children, are increasingly employed. The most widespread exception, however, is tenement home work.

While it is true that articles made or finished in New York tenements are sold in every state and territory of the Union, it is no less certain that such manufacture is increasing in the large and many smaller cities. The thousands of women who sew by hand or on foot power machines, making all varieties of women's and children's wear, and innumerable articles from paper bags to umbrellas and cigarettes—all labor during hours which, at seasons, end only with physical exhaustion. An investigation of homework in the small city of Newark in 1906 showed anew the evils of this system; an 18 and 20 hour day, a pittance of pay, and the wreck of all the decencies.

Moreover, the reaction of unrestricted home work upon the operation of factory laws is too often ignored. When employers are free to have work finished at home, after the legal closing hour (as is the practice in most branches of clothing manufacture, in candy making, etc.), laws restricting hours of labor are prac-

tically nullified. Factory work, transferred to the home, continues late into the night—with this difference, that the employer is saved the expense of running his establishment, and employees receive a lower wage.

Not until tenement manufacture is totally prohibited and the stream of workers turned into well ordered factories, will tenement dwellers be freed from this semi-pauper employment. Doubtless many married women who are now obliged to eke out the family income by unlimited hours of work at home, would be freed from the tyranny of the needle or machine, if the many men and unmarried women who work at tenement industries were transferred to better paying factories.

The desirability of abolishing tenement work forced upon all thoughtful observers, has not yet been embodied in the law of any state. In 1884 a law obtained by the cigar makers of New York, which forbade cigarmaking in tenements, was declared unconstitutional (*Re Jacobs vs. the State of New York*), and since then this decision has been held to block the way for prohibitions of tenement work. Prohibition being denied, the next best method of dealing with the problem is regulation and inspection of premises where work is carried on. Manifestly this effort is doomed to failure in so large a city as New York where in one year (1901) there were 20,000 licensed tenement homes and an unknown number of homes where work was done unlicensed. The system of subcontracting is carried on from family to family of foreigners, ignorant of our speech and laws. Without innumerable inspectors, the regulation of tenement work involves endless effort to do the impossible, to make safe by inspection what cannot be inspected, to keep homework and avoid its consequences.

In smaller communities the difficulties are the same in character, though less in extent. Many states have passed laws requiring different systems of inspection, registration of addresses to which work is given out, etc. But the effort to approximate in tenement workrooms the sanitary standards of factories has conspicuously failed. Regulation of the killing hours of labor in tenements for men, women and children has never been attempted.

Of all the sweatshop laws, that of New York is so far superior to the others that a brief statement of its essentials illustrates the best regulation yet secured.

New York Sweatshop Law

1. All tenements must be licensed in which manufacture of 32 articles specified in the law, is carried on.

2. The owner of the house must apply for the license and hang it conspicuously in the public hallway.

3. License is granted by the commissioner of labor after examination of the records of the board of health or tenement house department (if there is one) to see whether records show the presence of contagious or communicable disease or any un-complied orders or violations. If such exist, license may be denied without visiting the premises.

4. Before license is granted the commissioner of labor must inspect the premises; and each licensed tenement house must be inspected once in 6 months to determine its sanitary condition.

5. Whenever the commissioner of labor finds an apartment habitually filthy he may prohibit manufacture therein: when he finds articles manufactured in premises where contagious disease exists, or articles in a filthy condition, he may tag them, report them to the board of health for disinfection, or destroy them.

6. The contractor or goods owner must ascertain from the commissioner of labor whether the premises into which he proposes to send goods to be manufactured are licensed; he must keep a register of the names and addresses plainly written in English, of the persons to whom articles are sent and produce this register for the inspection of the commissioner of labor.

7. The home worker must not take work into an unlicensed tenement, and must keep clean the room or apartment in which work is done. He must not allow others than members of his family to work in his rooms.

Dangerous Occupations

If tenement manufacture is still uncontrolled, the so-called "dangerous trades" have not been even investigated, much less restricted by law, in this country. It is true that public opinion has declared against employment of women in certain occupations conspicuously dangerous to health or morals, such as mines and barrooms, and many states consequently prohibit their employment in these occupations. In a few states women are prohibited

from buffing or polishing metals. But the injurious effects of trades involving the use of poisons, gases, atmospheric extremes or other dangerous processes — such as have been carefully studied and restricted by legislation abroad — have received no attention here.

In conspicuous contrast to the meagre array of laws restricting *women's* labor, shown in this brief compilation, is the growing movement for an 8-hour day for men employed in mines or on public works. Five western states, Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Missouri and Utah prohibit employment of men in mines more than 8 hours in one day; 18 states restrict to 8 or 10 hours in one day all labor on public works. Moreover, unlike the laws restricting women's hours — reversed in Illinois, threatened in New York — these are powerful statutes, sustained by public opinion and court review. The Supreme Court at Washington has upheld as constitutional, state laws restricting men's hours of labor in mines, and state laws restricting their hours of labor on public works. (Re *Atkins vs. The People*, and *Holden vs. Hardy*). On the other hand when the New York law fixing an 8-hour day for all labor contracted for by the state, was declared in conflict with the state constitution, it was found entirely feasible to change the state constitution to fit the law. An amendment to the constitution, specifically authorizing the legislature to fix hours of labor on public works was submitted to the electors in November, 1905, and carried by a large vote.

Thus have men's hours of labor been restricted, because authoritatively demanded by the voters themselves, usually at the instigation of the unions. But in the same state where men work no more than 8 hours in mines or on public contracts, little girls from fourteen or sixteen years upwards may be employed 10 or even 12 hours in each day. Women do not profit by the 8-hour laws for men, since they labor neither in mines nor on public works. They have neither unions nor votes to enforce a demand for shorter hours. So young and so ignorant, in the main, are they, that they cannot even voice a coherent demand for their needs and rights. The trade agreement has in some instances shortened their hours of labor, but it has remained for philanthropists, in most states, to secure legislation in their behalf. Only the state, through laws, can protect its weaker laborers, and hither-

to such protection has been almost wholly lacking. To enforce the few beneficent statutes prohibiting night work and fixing hours of labor for women in states where such laws exist, and to obtain and enforce similar laws in other states—is a task imperiously demanded by the ever widening employment of women and the influence of their unregulated employment upon the nation's life.

THE EIGHTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

By MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER

Austin, Texas.

Ex-President Texas Federation Women's Clubs.

Author of "History of Texas."

The eighth biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, May 30 to June 8, 1906. This meeting is well worth the attention of the student of social and political science, presenting, as it does, the growth and development of a great movement. From every section of the United States, with an occasional friend from across the border or from over the seas, came the two thousand delegates and visitors. Even a casual glance told the spectator that these were representative women, the happy grandmothers, mothers, wives and daughters, who stand for the best and sanest in American home and social life. The middle aged woman was strongly in evidence, but some of the most capable and most beautiful members had passed the three score mark, and many were still in the flush of youth. The general air was one of modest prosperity; in federation circles the woman of limited means makes no apology, the woman of wealth avoids all ostentation.

The sessions of this convention presented a four-fold aspect, the first being the business side. So excellent were the arrangements of the local committees, that there was no confusion as to meeting trains, delivering baggage promptly (no small item in a woman's conventions), obtaining credentials, securing information and seating delegates. The meetings began on time and ended on time. The order was excellent. The reports of the officers and working committees were clear and concise, while the minutes were models of their kind. The revision of the By-laws was accomplished with no loss of time or temper. Even the nominating committee and the election of officers passed without an unpleasant word. Motions were sound and practical, there was a delightful absence of

"making talk." Nothing was more interesting than to watch the faces of the delegates, when once in a great while, some injudicious speaker took the floor to urge her cause; there was an air of kind, courteous tolerance, a disposition to be open-minded, but beneath it all one saw the sturdy common sense, the sound judgment of the masses, and when the vote came, the true interest of the federation, as she saw it, was the one impelling power for each delegate. There was honest difference of opinion, but there was almost no personal feeling. When one reflects that the federation is only fifteen years old and that each convention presents a host of new delegates, this business development speaks much for the practical training club life has given women.

The second aspect may be called the educational, the hard-working, the bone and sinew side, represented by reports from chairmen of fourteen standing committees, these chairmen being reinforced by famous experts as speakers. It was fascinating to trace, varied as these committees seemed, how they all touched the home; this is the centripetal force that speaks volumes for the future of the federation. The Civil Service Committee made this resolution its center of attack: Believing that practical knowledge and ability are necessary in the care of the defective and delinquent, and realizing that the management of State institutions for these unfortunate classes should be in accordance with the most advanced views of economy and efficiency, be it

"Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs devote itself for the next two years to securing the enactment of State laws which shall place all officials and employees of the charitable and reformatory institutions of the United States under the merit system of appointment." In the discussion delegates showed that they unanimously favored this because it meant more peace, more comfort for the delinquents and defectives, thus meaning more happiness for the homes of these unfortunates. The Reciprocity Committee presented plans whereby the strong club could help the weak, the town could learn from the country and the country from the town, each section could gain from the other. The course of study could be made so strong, and yet so attractive, that each member of the club woman's family would be interested, the tone of conversation would be raised and the solidarity of the home strengthened. The convention established at a cost of \$2,000 per

year a Bureau of Information, to aid in bringing about this desired consummation. The Library Extension Committee showed the marvellous work of traveling libraries, sent out in nearly every state by the influence of club organizations. These cases of books have brought happiness, inspiration and opportunity to the home and school all over our country. In trenchant terms the Civic Committee set forth the duty of women in home and municipal sanitation; practical methods of abating the smoke nuisance, of securing clean streets, healthful school buildings, proper milk and meat inspection were given with the authority of one who had brought things to pass. The Committee on Education brought out the need of more compulsory education laws, of better and more beautiful school buildings, of play-grounds, of more normal schools, of more expert supervision, of the training of the hand, and above all of right character building, which is the real test of home and school efficiency.

The Forestry Committee swept every woman on a wave of impassioned oratory to the firm belief that she had a pressing duty towards "Man's faithful servant and constant friend, the Forest," that no child was rightly educated unless he learned from mother and teacher:

"Woods were made for hunters of dreams,
And the streams for the fisher of song,
To those who hunt for the gunless game,
The streams and the woods belong.

There are thoughts that moan from the soul of the pine
And thoughts in the flower bell curled,
And thoughts that are blown with the scent of the fern
Are as new and as old as the world."

The following resolution was passed with enthusiasm:

"*Resolved*, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs continue the support of such legislation as shall secure forest reserves in the Appalachian and White Mountains, preserve the integrity of the Minnesota Forest reserve and the Calaveras groves."

It was proved by the Literature Committee that the day of the study club would never pass, that as the federation movement

sprung from the trained mind of true culture, so for each new inspiration we must go to the well-springs of the world's best literature; and that the antidote for the material tendency of the day was to control the reading, thereby controlling the conversation of the home circle.

The Industrial and also the Child Labor Committee made an impassioned appeal for the betterment of the home and working conditions of women and children who toil for daily bread, for a better understanding between the rich and the poor, and for the establishment of juvenile courts. It was decided "to endorse the work of the Industrial Committee in its efforts to secure the passage of a bill to authorize the secretary of commerce and labor to investigate and report upon the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of the woman and child laborers in the United States."

That many states have barbaric laws regarding property rights of women, that it is the duty of women better to inform themselves on these laws and then have them changed, was clearly established by the Legislative Committee.

The Household Economic and Pure Food Committees presented what had been done during the past two years in each state, showed vividly what must be done and done quickly to secure the passage of the Pure Food Law before Congress. Telegrams were immediately sent by each State President to every member of her delegation in the lower house of Congress, asking for the prompt passage of the law; encouraging replies poured in. History now records that the bill has become a law: will History record how marked a part was played in the securing of this law by the General Federation?

In addition to these morning sessions every committee was given an afternoon hour for a free conference; here the delegates and visitors had an opportunity to exchange experiences; so interested were both speakers and listeners that it was difficult to secure adjournment. A model flat, pure food exhibits, display of artistic pottery and metal work, handicraft from various schools, displays from individual states, and the federation art gallery were on exhibition at the old Capitol to the edification of hundreds.

If the day was filled with problems so serious as to oppress the conscientious woman with the burden of duty and responsibility,

the evening programs might well be called inspiring vistas from the mountain tops. The first night was given to speeches of welcome, when the highest dignitaries of church, state, school and club poured into the crystal loving-cup of hospitality their choicest vintage. Next came three minute reports from the Presidents of State federations, answering "Watchman, what of the night?" As these forty-six women, standing for forty-six types, forty-six localities, forty-six sets of interests, brought message after message of good cheer, brought accounts of *deeds done*, not of words spoken,—she were a dullard indeed, who did not gratefully say, "With God's help all things are indeed possible to us."

"Our Opportunities" was the night that proved it is "the opportunity of every American citizen to co-operate with every other American citizen, no matter how widely separated are their social spheres." Settlement Work, The Consumers' League, the Press, National Municipal League, American Civic Association, Juvenile Courts, National Child Labor Committee, International Sunshine Society—these were the topics that widened the horizon and sent each listener away feeling it a privilege to be allowed to share such opportunities.

The third evening preached the gentle gospel of Art, demonstrated that art is a social dynamic, lifted the audience from the practical and material into the ideal and the spiritual.

An original idea was the musical program devoted to Women Composers, the interpreters being artists of national reputation. Nothing was more enjoyed during the Biennial.

"Women in the Professions" gave an intimate glimpse into the experiences of women who are successful in education, journalism, ministry, law, medicine, and the stage: wit and wisdom kept the audience in a constant state of delight.

For President's Night Mrs. Decker chose the motto, "East, West, Home's Best": A woman from each of the four sections pictured the life, the needs, the achievement of her people, while the President bound the four into one composite whole. The Key-note of this program from the first spoken word, through the exquisite music rendered, "Land of the Moccasin Flower" for the North, "Old Kentucky Home" for the South, "Pilgrim Fathers" for the East, "Land of the West" for the West, and "Home Sweet Home" for every one, was patriotism, the highest patriotism that

blazons on the shield of each not North, nor South, nor East, nor West, but the *one* word that means all of these, the word we love, *America*.

On Sunday came the beautiful vesper service when old hymns that have stood the test of generations were sung, when a few earnest, helpful words were spoken, then the tear-stained eye, the trembling lip, the solemn hush bespoke the moral uplift that came to those who shared that blessed hour.

In the life of a well rounded woman external beauty and social amenities can not be omitted. This was the fourth aspect of the Biennial. The artistic decoration of the place of meeting,—a genuine creation that deserves to be ranked as a model for future committees—the cordial receptions in the best private homes of St. Paul, the magnificent hospitality of Governor and Mrs. Johnson in the new State Capitol, the *al fresco* entertainment at the Falls of Minnehaha and the Country Club,—all these added a finishing touch to the picture.

While all other names have been omitted from this article, yet no account of the Eighth Biennial Convention can go on record without a word of appreciation for the loving and beloved President, Mrs. Sarah S. Platt-Decker.

“It has been the woman’s part since the beginning to put into the world beauty, regeneration, and uplifting. These are the things we shall speak of this week. These are the purposes for which we have met.”

From these eloquent opening words of her response to the addresses of welcome, through every hour of the long convention she was the ideal presiding officer.

MEN'S VIEWS OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

A SYMPOSIUM, BY MEN WHO ARE RECOGNIZED LEADERS IN THE
PHILANTHROPIC AND REFORM MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA

Except in the United States Congress, I know of no body of men or women representing so much of intellect and heart, so much of culture and influence, and so many of the highest hopes and noblest possibilities of the American people as the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The industrial revolution, which transferred many activities from the home to the factory, has created new social conditions and new problems of adjustment. It is fitting that women who have now been freed from the burden laid on them by the age of homespun, should devote some of the new leisure thus bestowed to the solution of the new problems thus created.

It looks as if women's clubs might take a leading part in the great work of industrial improvement and in establishing right relations between employers and employees. As wives they sympathize with the perplexities of the former, and as women they sympathize with the hardships of the latter. With a hand upon each they may do much to reconcile both.

JOSIAH STRONG

President of American Institute of Social Service.

I am quite at a loss to understand the logic of those who are opposed to women's clubs. It seems to me that to be consistent, such persons ought to be opposed to women taking any part in the church or in social life, on the ground that this withdraws them from their families. The Oriental harem seems to me the complete realization of this ideal. I do not even think that Emperor William was quite consistent in saying that the three "K's" ("Kinder, Kueche and Kirche") represented woman's proper sphere. To be logical he ought to have left the church out; that would tie her still closer to the cradle. My own idea is that natural affec-

tion furnishes all the ligaments necessary to bind a woman to her home, and that the danger that women's clubs will prevent mothers from loving their children is quite visionary. I have found these clubs of great value, especially in the particular matter with which I have been mostly connected, the Reform of the Civil Service. In the earlier days of our agitation for that reform we used to keep them out of the movement, but since the women's auxiliaries have been established, and since women take part with us in our meetings and our banquets, I feel sure that we have greatly increased our strength and have added a new instrumentality which has done, perhaps, more in extending civil service reform sentiment throughout those parts of the country where these auxiliaries have existed than any other one agency.

WM. D. FOULKE

United States Civil Service Commissioner.

I appreciate so deeply the effective work that the clubs have done throughout the country in arousing an interest in the subject of child labor, that I am glad of an opportunity to express this appreciation. No better illustration of the fine educational work and high moral purpose of the women's clubs, as represented in the General Federation, can be found than in their persistent and discriminating study of the problem of child labor in the United States. I have found in all the States where the clubs are active and federated that the ground is prepared for progressive legislation on this subject. This is a great work for the American home, and the arousing of the intelligent interest of thousands of women who otherwise would not know of the great evils of child labor is a worthy contribution to American civilization.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

Secretary National Child Labor Committee.

The women's clubs throughout the country have taken an active part, during the last three years, in the child labor movement. The General Federation of Women's Clubs at its biennial convention, held at St. Louis, Mo., last May, for the information of its constituent members, adopted resolutions in favor of a definite national program throughout the United States. These resolutions represent, so far as we are aware, the only attempt to state a defi-

nite national program of child labor legislation based upon a study of all legislation and efforts to secure its enforcement up to the present time.

HOMER FOLKS

Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

For the past five years I have been actively engaged in the interest of better laws for the protection of the home and the children. In this behalf I have visited some twenty States. I have found in that time wonderful progress, and scarcely without exception it has been the members of the women's clubs who have championed every good law and secured the passage of nearly all the advanced legislation upon the statute books for the protection of the home and the children. Much of this legislation relating to child labor, delinquent and dependent children, and the rights of women as well as children, has been of such incalculable value and of such tremendous importance as must be felt for good in thousands of homes in this country.

Therefore I do not agree with the criticisms of women's clubs by ex-President Cleveland. I do not know of a church society which is more philanthropic in its purposes than are the women's clubs. Mr. Cleveland's criticism, if justifiable, would practically limit the activity of women to their own homes. Of course the individual home comes first in importance. No one has advocated this more than the women's clubs; but they are unselfish and Christian enough to appreciate that they owe a duty to society, and to other homes. They realize that to a certain extent, all children are their children. Most members of the women's clubs have already reared a family, and some of the most active are, without sacrificing the duty they owe to their own homes, able to do much towards advancing every movement intended for the betterment of the homes of all the people.

I am sure the ex-President has spoken without that due deliberation which so generally characterizes his utterances. Of course he is sincere in his own championship of the home, but he cannot be well posted in the fight which has been waged so successfully in many of the States, unless he credits the results largely to the influence of good women who are members of women's clubs, who have worked unceasingly for others without neglect of their own homes. There may be exceptional cases of neglect of the

home for club work, but this would no more justify denunciation of the women's clubs than a similar condition in churches would prove them a menace to virtue.

BEN B. LINDSEY

Judge of Juvenile Court, Denver, Colorado.

One of the striking characteristics of women's organizations in this country has been their passion for social righteousness. Moreover, I have long been convinced that women's clubs have an important function to perform in the creation of public opinion and that they are performing it in a most acceptable manner.

That club life with women is liable to abuse like club life with men has never seemed to me either an effective or a fair argument against them. We do not judge the Christian Church by the few men and women who use it as a cloak for their iniquity. No more should we judge women's clubs by those who use them as cloaks for mere ambition, or as a means of avoiding their domestic or marital duties.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Secretary National Municipal League.

Mr. Hale, after alluding to Mrs. Howe's different claims upon public gratitude, said that looking back upon her life Mrs. Howe may be glad and grateful for all she had done in the establishing of women's clubs. They came in upon us just at the time when they were most needed. At the end of the century the average man in any of our great cities was one thousand times as strong as he was when the century began. This means that we have created so many of the giants who do work for us that the average man can command to-day one thousand times the physical strength which he could command in 1805. Now it is easy to say that this strength must be wielded by moral power. We do say that familiarly and freely, but what forces are you to use in the direction of this moral power? Mrs. Howe and the ladies who have worked with her have done their share by creating the women's clubs which exist all over the country. I do not say that all these exercise moral power. Some of them do not. The moment a club exists for itself alone, only that the members may "have a good time," that Thursday afternoon or Wednesday evening may be "occupied," its members are going to the devil as fast as they can. But the clubs which exist for the good of mankind, for helping forward the kingdom of God,

they succeed. They ought to succeed and they do succeed. It ought to be a part of the constitution of every club that no meeting shall pass in which a club has not done something for the benefit of others; and it is because so many of the women's clubs have devoted themselves to such endeavors, that they have enjoyed the measure of success which has waited upon them. Mrs. Howe would be among the first to seek such success in any organization with which she is connected.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

Extract from an Address Delivered on the 86th Anniversary of the Birthday of Julia Ward Howe.

The Women's Clubs have taken a leading part in many of the most important reform movements in elementary education within the last twenty years. In many cities these clubs have been the direct means of introducing manual training, cooking and sewing into the public schools. In some communities they have supported classes in these studies at their own expense, to educate public sentiment and to prove to school boards and city councils the wisdom of making them a part of the public school system. Kindergartens have been made a part of the public school system in many communities through their instrumentality in the same way. These clubs have had much to do with the movement to establish playgrounds for children. One of the marked influences of women on school boards is the great improvement in the sanitary conditions of schools of recent years, and the women's clubs have, in many communities, been influential in large measure in securing women members of such boards.

In Massachusetts, the various women's organizations have within the last few years made a study of schools and school conditions throughout the State, with a thoroughness that has never been attempted before. The indirect influence of such work on public sentiment is of quite as great value as its direct influence in furthering reforms. It is not too much to say that reform movements in public school education have found for the last twenty years some of their strongest support in the women's organizations of various kinds.

THOMAS M. BALLIET

Dean of School of Pedagogy, New York University.

The women's clubs in Michigan have been very useful in promoting the culture and friendship of educated women, and also in raising funds for the establishment of fellowships in this University. We regard ourselves as under great obligations to them. They also discuss with great intelligence the problems of public education.

Yours truly,

JAMES B. ANGELL.

President of University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

The woman who is a member of a woman's club, is a progressionist. The man who scoffs at a progressionist is a pessimist, and the pessimist who knows the least of woman's clubs condemns them the most. It can be said, without fear of successful denial, that America leads, and the world follows. The American citizen is the highest type of independence and patriotism, of civic advancement, of progress in science, in the life intellectual, the life commercial and the solution of socio-political problems. Would it not be unreasonable to deny the wife, the mother, the sister or the daughter of that citizen, the right of woman to progress as man progresses; to belong to a woman's club, whose tenets are for the noblest purposes and highest ideals of modern civilization?

Women's clubs are the natural product of a progressive sex in a progressive age. They stand for intellectual and social culture, for philanthropic and educational work, for the discussion of the improvement of the home, the solution of domestic problems. They do not impair home life; on the contrary they promote it. They do not tend to race suicide; the majority of members of women's clubs are mothers. They not only improve their own homes, but they extend the helping hand of benevolence to other homes—to other people's children, the fatherless and oppressed, to the poor children of the city, whose outings and vacation schools are a few of the many beautiful philanthropies where the altruistic doctrine of women's clubs is apparent.

Women's clubs stand for the home, for the school, for art, and literature and music, for domestic science, for the intellectual advancement of the American woman who presides over the American home, and the fathers should be proud of the fact that the mothers of the rising generation have the priceless advantage of belonging to clubs, which tend to promote, not only the social and intel-

lectual culture of the mother, but safeguard the most competent rearing of the child.

I believe in women's clubs, because I am in an official position as Superintendent of Compulsory Education, in Chicago, to know the vast amount of good they have accomplished in child-saving work, in securing legislation on compulsory education, parental schools and juvenile courts, and in the suppression of child labor. Women's clubs are not theoretical; they are practical; they act; they do things for the good of society, for the good of the community and the country. The greater woman means the better nation. While men have been busy quarreling over the money question and the tariff question, women's clubs have been busy safeguarding humanity.

Men's clubs, as a rule, are purely social. Women's clubs are not. Which is of greater value to home life? There can be but one reasonable deduction in the answer. Let us concede it to the women's clubs, not only in a gracious spirit, but in the spirit of fact.

I believe in women's clubs. What this country needs is more women's clubs, more of the Mothers' Congresses, more National Councils of Women, more Catholic Women's Leagues, for in organized womanhood lies the moral and intellectual hope of this republic. They must furnish settlement of the divorce question and other sociological problems that the procrastination and propitiation of mankind has failed to solve.

W. L. BODINE

Superintendent of Compulsory Education, Chicago.

Doubtless there are clubs and clubs among women, as among men. Some are excellent,—that I know;—some may be indifferent; perhaps some are bad. It sometimes happens that men organize and administer clubs for selfish or unworthy purposes. It would be very unreasonable to expect that it would be otherwise with women, but my observation leads me to believe that both the motives and the practices of women's clubs are relatively free from objectionable features. I have occasionally been allowed to hear their addresses, essays and discussions, and I have been no stranger to the proceedings of clubs, local, State and National. I am glad to testify with confidence to the high purpose and valuable work

they are doing. Aside from the individual culture and the general intelligence, they unquestionably promote the public welfare.

I have been in frequent touch with the Wednesday Club of this city for some fifteen years. It has done and is still doing valuable work individually and collectively. While the "Economic Section" has not solved all the problems of modern society, it has led to a study of actual conditions, and particularly has it encouraged a judicial attitude by reading and discussing papers on both sides, or on all sides, of live economic questions. I am glad to bear my testimony to the lofty spirit which pervades the club work, and to the sustained interest it has in matters which ought to interest all of us, and which do interest all cultivated and public-spirited people. In cases without number, it has been my privilege to sit behind the scenes, as it were, and take a modest part in hunting up material and in throwing light, and in profiting thereby.

There is no doubt about the influence of the women's clubs of Missouri in securing legislation in favor of school attendance, educational appropriations, and civic improvements. In short, they seem to me to be "seeking earnestly the best gifts," and I cannot for a moment admit that they deserve any general condemnation. They have drawn out and stimulated the intellectual and social powers of the members, and thus enriched their lives without loss of dignity, the neglect of home, or the sacrifice of womanly character.

CALVIN MILTON WOODWARD

President Board of Education, St. Louis, Mo.

It gives me great pleasure to say a few words in regard to the work which has been done by women's clubs. I find that they are alive to the great social problems of the day, especially those which look to the good of the home, the purity of food and the cause of temperance.

I thoroughly believe in organization. I stand with our President in his views about unions. I believe that woman is a human being and that she has the same right to organize for good purposes that man has. I see no danger to the home in such organization as long as its purposes are high and its methods clean. I can realize a condition of women's clubs which, like some men's clubs, would be unfortunate. I have known men's clubs whose chief purposes were card-playing for money, and drinking; but,

fortunately, such instances are very few. The immense majority of men's clubs are organized on the highest principles and result in the highest good. The same, I believe, to be true of women's clubs. There may be a few which are bad, but the immense majority are good.

My chief point of contact with women's clubs has been in the cause of pure food. In this matter I found them the most efficient organizations now existing. They are enthusiastic, hard working, persistent and effective. I fully believe that whenever the women of this country, as, for instance, through the Federation of Women's Clubs of America, shall demand legislation regulating interstate traffic in adulterated foods and drinks, that legislation will be forthcoming. When the women's clubs are fully aroused in this matter, it will not be possible any longer for organized selfishness to block the wheels of legislation for the purpose of securing an additional profit in trade. The Federation of Women's Clubs of America is in favor of pure food legislation because it means honesty, freedom from danger to the family, security for the proper spending of the money for household needs, and a general improvement in health and morality.

I could never be brought to the belief that organization among men or women for such purposes would be liable to lead to undesirable ends. I fully realize that in work of this kind, as in every other good work, enthusiasm may lead to extreme measures, but that is no argument at all against the general usefulness or wholesomeness of such organization. I fully realize, too, the peculiar function of woman in social life. I know she is not intended by nature, by taste nor by education, as a rule, to follow the pursuits which are reserved for men, but I fail to see by what natural cause or by what social necessity she is to be excluded from a participation, in an organized way, in the great problems which look to the uplifting of man.

I think it will be a sorry day for our country when women's clubs cease to exist. It augurs well for the future happiness and welfare of our Nation to see these organizations increase in numbers, efficiency and solidarity.

H. M. WILEY

Chief of Bureau of Chemistry, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

I call attention to the fact not generally understood, that the larger share of the local civic study clubs and improvement associations in which men and women share the privileges of social activities in their immediate environment, are brought into being through the efforts of the club women. In some cases individual club members become interested and broadened in their conception of civic duty so that they go out into the highways and verily compel the men to unite with them in some effort for the common good. In other instances, a carefully planned campaign conducted by a department or committee of the club will result in a well organized associated effort of men and women. An almost universal subject of discussion among the clubs of to-day is "how to get the men interested" in the work which they realize cannot be fully carried out by the women working alone.

The greater number of the "women's clubs" are altruistic and community-serving in many of their activities, while much the smallest proportion of the men's "clubs" are interested in other than the personal pleasure of its membership.

I am one of those who believe that the church might and should have its stamp on much that is done for the betterment of the community. Unfortunately, too few pastors and lay workers appreciate this broad possibility; in fact, the usual attitude is one of fear, — fear that "home missions" touching clean streets, better back yards, broader educational opportunities and other immediate neighborhood needs will detract from the routine demands of the local church administration. But we may well believe that "Jerusalem" is in the home and the vital interests of the home, even before many of the worthy activities of the church further down the street.

The critics of the club, or better, those who wish to utilize the club idea and the social spirit as expressed by many of the clubs, can do no less than to actually study the situation and withhold criticisms and plans until an open mind and careful investigation have afforded reasonable grounds for a judgment. Please understand that this is not a defense of the club, nor is it a criticism of the church, but rather a plea for a broad, sympathetic, and absorbing study of the club movement of the better sort among the men and women of to-day.

E. G. ROUTZAHN

Secretary Civic-Co-operation, Chicago.

Communications

REPORT OF THE CIVIC COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, at St. Paul, June, 1906, by Kate Cassatt MacKnight, Chairman Civic Committee.)

Probably no committee, reporting to you to-day, has found it so difficult to collect, and select, the information rightly belonging to it, as has the Civic Committee. Why? Because the term civics is such an elastic one, and is generally used by the clubs all over the country to indicate any altruistic work performed by the club as a whole. To me it has seemed all the more interesting and marvellous to realize how civic work—as undertaken by our clubs—interlaces, and joins hands, with that of the Forestry Committee, the Child Labor, the Pure Food, the Library Extension, and in fact with all the wonderful committees appointed by our wonderful President.

But nevertheless, the absence of lines of demarcation has rendered it surprisingly difficult for me to know just what to include or exclude. The first problem presented to the minds of your committee was, how it would be possible to suggest the best lines of work, and manner of procedure, to clubs all over our broad land, where local conditions would be totally dissimilar; and, on that account, suggestions from outsiders—unfamiliar with such conditions—might prove most injudicious.

For this reason, and because of the impossibility of giving expert advice to hundreds of widely separated clubs, it was decided to prepare a handbook, giving concise, simple and practical suggestions, on a host of subjects, all suitable to be taken up by town and village improvement societies—as well as by committees for civic work, appointed by literary, and other clubs. This little book, then, "A Civic Primer," was the result, and is virtually the report of our committee. I commend it to your notice, and I hope all the club members present will obtain one of these little volumes before leaving St. Paul. A copy of it has been sent to every club belonging to the General Federation, and to the president of each State Federation. Over one thousand copies remain to be sold at the nominal price of ten cents each. We really feel that this simple little book will prove most helpful and suggestive to many clubs—even those organized entirely for study and self-development, and calling themselves "purely literary clubs."

The literary and self-culture club is, as a rule, the beginning and support of all those important elements, which foster the growth and influence

of our Federation; and which develop the interests of women in the forward movement of humanity. For, after spending months studying the idealism of Tennyson, or the scathing arraignment of all that is sordid, found in Brown- ing, or after reading a course of Carlyle, and becoming imbued with his scorn of the pettiness of the pretentious world; then, at last coming to John Ruskin, with his appeal for more simple and spiritual living, for more beau- tiful surroundings, and less destruction of all that is fine and noble in our- selves, and in our surroundings; after all this, and other strong and whole- some mental pabulum, one naturally begins to open one's eyes, to look about, and to inquire if we have any right to continue to live amid hideous sur- roundings; or to permit the children of our "land of the free" to be de- stroyed by drudgery, or vicious environment; or to stand idly by while the grandest, most beautiful, and picturesque scenery in our country is destroyed by the blind greed of grasping commercialism!

Every literary club, which adds to its program some little discussion of the great civic questions of the day, will soon be repaid for what is done along altruistic lines, by the broader interest, the deepening of character, and the growing and genuine respect in which the club will be held by the com- munity in which it is placed. It is most encouraging to note, from the re- ports sent to me by many of the states, what wonderful things have been done, and are being accomplished through the influence of club women in every section of the country. And yet many of the clubs, in some of our most progressive states, still report doing nothing in the line of civic work. Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are well in the lead, with a long list of improvements not only undertaken, but accomplished. Probably the most interesting report of all that I received, came from California, and was written by the courageous Chairman of the Civic Committee among the ruins of what was a few weeks ago, the magnificent city of San Francisco. In it she reports that fifty-seven of the California clubs do civic work of some kind, spreading their energetic work along a multitude of different lines—such as caring for all roads and cemeteries, beautifying school grounds, planting trees and destroying pests, *organizing fire departments*, erecting fountains, etc.

They have also co-operated in the work of the Juvenile Court, have had women physicians appointed for state hospitals for the insane and feeble minded, and have united in urging forward a number of other important reforms.

In my report at the council meeting held last June in Atlantic City, I suggested that the civic work undertaken by the clubs be carried on along lines falling under the following classifications:

Municipal sanitation.

Municipal cleanliness—both material and moral.

The City Beautiful.

In the reports I have received, I observe that the City Beautiful ap- peals to the largest number of clubs, a large majority having reported the planting of trees, improvement of unsightly waste tracks of ground, the ac- quisition of parks, having railroad stations made more attractive and the

surrounding grounds turned into gardens, improvement of school grounds, the distribution of flower seeds and of plants to school children, and rewarding by prizes those who are most successful with plant or garden.

I would urge on all clubs, interested in the City Beautiful, to study the "Plan of Grouping Public Buildings," as already adopted by Cleveland, Washington, St. Louis and other cities, and to interest themselves actively, whenever any new public building is to be erected in their midst, to have the "Group Plan" adopted by the local authorities.

Much has been gained, also, along the lines of sanitation and municipal cleanliness, through the influence of our club women. A number of clubs report having garbage collected regularly. In Kentucky, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and California, great interest is shown in the study and prevention of the ravages of tuberculosis, and in the establishment of camps and sanitariums, where those afflicted with the white plague can be properly cared for, their sufferings relieved, and where they are frequently restored to health. Streets have been kept clean, and, in some cases watered; anti-expectoration laws passed and enforced; hospitals opened and sustained; the smoke nuisance abated, etc.

In Texas, an active campaign was waged last summer against the stegomyia mosquito, with his preference for yellow fever germs—many of the club women assailing his haunts personally, with ample offerings of mosquito-killing kerosene. In Ottumwa, Iowa, and in Lisbon, North Dakota, regular "cleaning-up days" have been established; a very good idea for small towns or villages, where, we are assured from the latter place, "everybody works—even father."

I must not weary you with too long an enumeration of deeds accomplished but must take one moment longer to draw your attention to the heading of "Moral Municipal Cleanliness," which might better, perhaps, be called "Public Welfare." All the work for delivering children from vicious surroundings may be classed under this head, and I am happy to say, a large number of the clubs realize its importance. Probably few of the forms of modern philanthropy appeal to us more than the Juvenile Court, and the oversight of naughty children (many of them more sinned against than sinning) by probation officers, selected for their efficiency. The club women in many of our states are co-operating heartily in this work. Clubs for street boys and girls, and sewing schools for the latter have been opened and are conducted by our club women; crusades have been conducted against pool rooms, against cigarettes, to close saloons on Sunday and keep them far away from the neighborhood, objectionable posters have been banished, indecent advertisements put a stop to, slot machines for gambling closed up; and in Kentucky, prize fights were prevented, both in Louisville and Harrodsburg. In several places the authorities have been prevailed upon to establish matrons in the police stations, to treat gently the unfortunate creatures who drift thither.

I have not yet mentioned three of the most important matters which claim a large amount of attention in several of our states, and these are, "free kindergartens, summer play-grounds and vacation schools and chil-

dren's leagues of good citizenship." Our club women help to establish and conduct all of these, and it would be impossible to estimate the good thus accomplished, in the development of character, and the training of the future citizen.

After all, nothing will repay us so much as the protection, care and training of our children, who are to take upon their shoulders the government of our country, after we have passed hence, and this part of the work of a civic committee I especially commend to your careful and prayerful consideration. Try to shield the children morally by preventing coarse, vulgar and impure things being brought to their notice—either through the eyes or the ears. It is not only the children of our own immediate families who require to be so protected, but those of our poorer neighbor, in the neglected back street or alley. They, also, must be kept pure and trained aright, or they may some time become centers for evil in the community.

This brief review of altruistic work, done by club women throughout this country, has been perforce a hasty one; but, surely the record is surprising. Let us "thank God and take courage," for He has brought many wonderful things to pass through our instrumentality; and yet, so far, we are but on the threshold of the great things we are to accomplish. "Let us, then, not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

REPORT OF PURE FOOD COMMITTEE.

(Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at St. Paul, June, 1906, by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Chairman, Columbia, Mo.)

The Pure Food Committee in making its first bow in public feels, on the one hand, a natural hesitation in speaking of what has been accomplished; but, on the other hand, its very youth makes it want to tell every single thing that it has done. Called into existence less than two years ago to help in the fight for a Federal law to protect the consumer in one State from food improperly labeled or adulterated and shipped into it from another State, it has far outgrown this its chrysalis stage, and is using its new found wings to touch at all points where pure food issues are at stake. It has turned its attention not only to legislative details, but to milk and water supply, meat and market inspection, system of uniform labeling, food standards, and has been fairly appalled at the work it has found crying to be done.

To ascertain conditions in various States and to secure co-operation from the clubs and State officials, this committee has written some 2,000 letters, sent circulars to every State in the Union, and tried by personal letters, talks, exhibits, and distribution of literature, to arouse interest in the cause. It has petitioned and memorialized the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Senate and the House, has kept up an incessant news-

paper warfare, usually through friendly editors, rather than over its own signature, and has worked in season and out of season to waken the public conscience to the ethical questions involved in this fight for the honest label.

That our efforts have not been entirely in vain, witness the following facts: (1) Twenty-five States have done work in pure food during the past year and five others are to take it up next year. (2) The Pure Food Bill this last winter, for the first time passed the Senate. (3) The Department of Agriculture, in response to a demand created by this committee, has just published an exceptionally fine Bulletin for housekeepers on "Some Forms of Food Adulteration," a few copies of which we have here and additional numbers of which can be obtained from the Superintendent of Public Documents.

There has also been published for our special use a report by the Secretary of the Interstate Pure Food Commission, which can be obtained by signing a list which can be found in the Exhibit, and letters of appreciation of the work of the Federation have been received from all sides.

An extract from one written by Dr. Wiley is typical, and is as follows:

"I think the Women's Clubs of this country have done a great work in whatever they have undertaken towards the betterment of the conditions of society. There is something wonderful in the power which organized effort can develop, and the women of this country through organized effort in my opinion can secure any good thing which they demand. Their work in behalf of pure food legislation, both in the States and in the National Congress, has been wonderfully effective.

"I sincerely hope that the organization of women of this country for all purposes of the public good may be perfected and extended, as thereby the ethical principles which they represent can be more effectually and more speedily enforced throughout the whole land."

Did time and space not forbid, many tributes of similar import could be given, showing the cordial appreciation of the work done by the women in this pure food campaign, by men who are leading in the fight for commercial honesty.

From most of the letters to state presidents and secretaries came cordial and full responses, and from these letters the following facts and suggestions have been collected:

Arizona says: "Our produce comes from such a distance that the preservatives used frequently render food unfit for use. We are working hard for a pure food law in this territory, but progress seems slow."

Arkansas, evidently, is all right, for several letters receive no response.

In Alabama, no attempt has been made to enforce the food laws of the State.

California has a good law, but, save in the matter of dairy produce, no attempt has been made to enforce the laws of the State until very recently.

Colorado, with its efficient resident member of the general Pure Food Committee, is doing fine educational work, which will certainly result in a good law at the next Legislature.

Connecticut says: "The moral effect of our law has been great. Public sentiment has been awakened by our work, which is accessible through our printed reports; the Federation of Women's Clubs is agitating the subject all over the State on the side of the consumer, and the outlook is better than ever before for the suppression of the sale of adulterated food."

In Delaware, the inspection seems to be indeed a bread and butter question, as the law provides only for these two things.

Florida's "Pure Food Law has no way of enforcing a penalty, so of course it is not enforced. The club women are taking up the subject."

Georgia never responded to inquiries, but has a law regulating liquors and flour.

Idaho says: "We are doing a great work in the State toward the prohibition of the sale of adulterated foods. The great drawback is that the Commission has such a multiplicity of duties that it has little time to give to the food question."

Illinois has a good law and a Food Commissioner whose duty it is to enforce all laws relating to the subject, but some of the worst interstate offenders in mis-branding and adulteration are in Chicago.

Indiana has a State Laboratory of Hygiene, under control of the State Board of Health, with an appropriation of \$5000 for equipment and \$10,000 for maintenance. "The laboratory is used in making analyses of foods and drugs, making sanitary and pathological examinations, etc., and in all ways aids in the enforcement of health laws," an arrangement which seems to be ideal.

Iowa's last Legislature passed a good food law and her women helped in the good cause.

Kansas has no general food law. The last Legislature passed a law making it the duty of the State University and State Agricultural College to make analyses of foods and beverages upon request of the Board of Health, but no appropriation was made, and the work of these institutions is already too heavy to make such additional duties possible.

Kentucky has a fine law, administered by the State Experiment Station in the most fearless manner. They complain, however, of the lack of a Federal Law, as Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, West Virginia and other states impose adulterations upon local dealers and are beyond the jurisdiction of State Courts. The Pure Food Committee is under great obligations to the Kentucky Station for helping it in its work.

Louisiana never responded, but the State Board of Health has charge in a general way of health conditions.

Maine has a new law, administered by the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Maryland has a State Board of Health charged with the enforcement of certain food laws, but the appropriation is so small that it is impossible to cover the ground, even in the cities of the State. Her club women are doing splendid work, and the articles on "Safe Foods and How to Get Them," by Mrs. Abel of Baltimore are most scientific and helpful.

Massachusetts was the first State to enforce laws relative to purity of

foods, and has a most efficient State Board of Health and State Dairy Bureau. There have been forty-two pure food meetings in Massachusetts clubs in six months, due to the activity of the pure food member from that State, and the strong pressure brought to bear on Congress from the physicians of Boston and New York in favor of the Heyburn Bill was exerted through her influence.

Michigan has its food laws administered by the State Dairy and Food Commissioner. "The dairy laws are most efficient; the food laws less effective, though the co-operation of honest manufacturers and dealers and the enthusiastic support of the clubs are decreasing the adulterated products and another year will see great gains."

Minnesota has a new code which has just gone into effect and promises to be most effective. Judging by the courtesy, ability, and generosity shown our Pure Food Committee by the State officials and by the local Pure Food Committee, Minnesota has set a pace which it will be difficult for the other states to follow.

Mississippi has no adequate laws, and not enough interest in the matter to send a response to inquiries.

Missouri "begs to be excused, please, for being on the black list, but she had to be 'shown,' and so far has been able to see no farther than that her dairying industries needed protection. Another Legislature convenes next winter, and our women are at work and expect to succeed."

Montana has milk and meat inspectors in certain counties, but no officer specially charged with the enforcement of the food laws of the State. Her State President writes: "The Pure Food Laws are better enforced in Butte than elsewhere."

Nebraska sends the following: "Our law is so narrow that we cannot reach the majority of adulterations, but we have analyzed many products and published the results, in the hope that the people of the State will demand a broader law of our next Legislature." The State has a wide-awake committee and we expect to hear of a victory for pure food at our next biennial.

Nevada has no provision for enforcing such laws as she has.

New Hampshire's food laws are well administered by the State Board of Health.

New Jersey's food laws are administered by the State Board of Health, but very imperfectly. If the officials were half as active and interested as the member of the Pure Food Committee from that State, New Jersey would be our model. She has worked untiringly in the cause, and has done a great deal to arouse interest in the good work through letters, talks, and newspaper articles.

New Mexico has no provision for enforcing the food laws; in fact, considers violations of the law merely misdemeanors.

New York has its food laws administered by the State Department of Agriculture, but when a Legislature could defeat such a bill as the one introduced at its last session for the protection of its citizens against patent medicines, we think there is need of an arousing of the public conscience.

North Carolina has a fairly satisfactory law, which the State Department of Agriculture is attempting to enforce, but the State Board of Health of South Carolina has no appropriation, and makes no attempt to regulate the sale of adulterated foods.

North and South Dakota have admirable laws, rigidly enforced. As we have with us a representative official from that region we shall hear all about these laws. The first bill introduced into the South Dakota Legislature by the women's clubs was for meat inspection and was introduced by a woman, Mrs. Stutenroch.

Ohio, with a good State food law, has been greatly hampered by the lack of a National law.

In Oklahoma and Indian Territory the people have not even as much protection along this line as cattle have, but unless all signs fail, they will have before long. So far as the committee has heard, Oklahoma is the banner State for the number of letters and petitions favoring a National Pure Food Law, having sent out 1,800.

Oregon has a good new law, whose efficiency has not yet been tried; but if the club women of Portland are fair representatives of the spirit of her citizens, we may expect great results, for we have no more interesting exhibition of civic usefulness than was shown by their demanding and getting market inspection a year ago.

Pennsylvania has a good law, enforced by a fearless Dairy and Food Commission.

Rhode Island not having responded, we find from the Digest of the Food Laws, published by the United States Department of Agriculture, that no provision is made for the enforcement of the food laws, except where local inspectors may have power to act.

In Tennessee, the State Board of Health is authorized to establish a chemical and biological laboratory and to employ expert assistants to enforce the food laws of the State; but owing to lack of appropriations the law cannot be enforced.

In Texas much the same conditions obtain, save that the sum of \$2,000 is allowed the Health Officer by the law. Here again we find that the Legislature (shall we say) forgot to include this item in the appropriation bills, so no real work can be done. A good general food law *failed* in the last Legislature, but a pure food bill for stock passed without question.

Utah has good laws most excellently administered, and one unusual feature, showing the general interest in food control, deserves especial mention. There is in Utah an Association of Merchants and Manufacturers and a number of commercial clubs which employ a chemist to analyze the output of all canning factories in the State, thus insuring purity in the home products. This is a new venture in civic work and should commend itself to every State wishing to establish a high record for commercial honesty.

Vermont has sent no response to inquiries, but, consulting the United States Bulletin, we find that general food laws were enacted by the last meeting of the Legislature. They are to be enforced by the State Board

of Health, whose meager appropriation prevents proper collection of samples to be analyzed, and so defeats the purpose of the law.

Virginia has a new law, administered by the State Department of Agriculture, which is "having an excellent effect in regard to labeling and branding."

Washington has a good law and a Commissioner who says: "If the people want to buy dirt, they can; but they will not be cheated into doing it under false colors."

West Virginia has no provision for enforcing such laws as are on the statute books, but we learn that the public is aroused to the importance of the question and the recent establishment of milk inspection in Wheeling is a step in the right direction.

Wisconsin has a good law and a wide-awake Dairy and Food Commission.

CHILD LABOR—A NATIONAL DISGRACE.

This topic was presented at the biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at St. Paul, June, 1906, by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay of the University of Pennsylvania, and Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, also ex-Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, who spoke in part as follows:

"If there is any natural or necessary division of labor in the public work of men and women certainly the guardianship of the interests of children will appeal most strongly to women. It may be man's fault rather than woman's that our modern industrial system has laid so heavy a hand on the child. Our mines and coal breakers, our cotton mills and factories, our glass houses, silk mills, messenger and delivery service, street trades and other hazardous occupations for young children have already enlisted one in every twenty-two children throughout the entire country, and if we include all wage-earning child workers, more than one in every six children of the country, or over two million, must be counted. We cannot boast of American opportunities or do ought but hang our heads in shame when we admit these facts.

"We are all responsible, men and women alike, for this horrible condition of affairs. Every section of the country is guilty, every industry is a conspirator in these wrongs done to innocent children. There is a sovereign remedy—*publicity*. The National Committee was organized as a representative body of men and women to ascertain and present the facts. We have done this as best we can with the resources of a private society and we will continue to do it. We now call on you as the organized force of woman's influence in this country, we call on organized labor, on the churches representing the organized religious forces, and finally we call on the Federal Government to assume the responsibility for these wrongs to childhood and to set about forthwith to right them, to make restitution four-fold. Publicity on a national scale is the sovereign remedy. What has it not done in

righting the wrongs of insurance mismanagement, in helping us to find a way to control corporate greed, railroad rebates and many other economic ills. Now the singular thing is that we have through a campaign of publicity come to recognize government responsibility even under our peculiar constitutional complications for the finding of a way to deal with these questions effectively. What responsibility does the government, state or nation, assume to-day for the children? Are they not an asset of the nation? Is their physical, industrial, intellectual and moral training not a matter of as much concern to the nation as the breeding of cattle, horses and swine? Do they not represent an economic value of as great concern as the soils, seeds, fisheries, or insect pests of the country? In all these matters the National Government has well organized bureaus of *investigation and publicity*. No constitutional provision prohibits the government at Washington from investigating minutely, exhaustively and authoritatively the condition of working children and the numerous questions allied thereto such as the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, desertion and illegitimacy, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character and training of children. The results of such investigations made public by the National Government will not only give our states the necessary basis for wise legislation and wiser administration of child labor laws and other legal provision for childhood but will make such action by the states necessary and inevitable.

"The Providence (R. I.) *Journal* has treated this point most wisely and patriotically when it said: 'While it is easy to recognize the almost self-evident truth that the welfare of children is of vital importance to the country, it is far less easy to find methods of improving their conditions. Congress has no power to enact legislation for the states prohibiting child labor or dealing with the problems of illiteracy, illegitimacy, juvenile crime, children's courts and allied questions. Each state must regulate these affairs for itself. The question, then, is far more complicated and much more delicate than if it could be settled by one law-making body. It partakes of the subtle difficulties common to many of the problems now uppermost in the minds of thinking Americans—it belongs to the state for solution, but it is national both in the interest it arouses and in the danger it threatens.

"'In so vital a question, as in almost all the other important issues of the present time, it is natural to think that the means followed to secure relief are of slight importance. Such thinking, however, is dangerous. The Federal Government is constantly being called upon to do what it is the constitutional duty of the states to accomplish. That very habit of ignoring the commonwealth in the pressure of difficulties and applying for a remedy at Washington is potent for mischief. It weakens the power of the state, diminishes the respect of its own citizens for its powers and makes it far less able to govern itself. Thus delegated authority is removed one step further away from the people whence it comes; and how much is lost in the process is a question of no slight moment to American institutions.

Fortunately it seems possible to solve the problem of the protection of children by a method in which the state will lose none of its rights and the government will lend its valuable offices and powerful prestige.

"The national child labor committee, which is conducting the campaign in favor of national legislation in behalf of children, asks simply for the establishment of a children's bureau in the Department of the Interior. The bill now before the Senate seeking this end grants to that office only the rights of investigation and publicity. These rights, however, if well used, will result in the collection of all the data the public needs to form its opinion; and this opinion can easily find expression in the enlightened state laws. May it not be that in this proposed union of national research and publicity with state autonomy many of the most trying of the great modern evils will be cured? If such should be the fortunate result, good laws would not mean curtailing in the slightest degree the liberty of the several states.'

"We do not want merely statistics which the government now furnishes in part for some of these questions, but we want such illuminating reports on child labor as the Bureau of Corporations has recently furnished about Standard Oil and the Railroads, or the Bureau of Labor furnishes about labor problems. Where is the Children's Bureau in our National Government? It was a woman's happy suggestion a few years ago—from Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Nurses' Settlement in New York—that we should have a National Children's Bureau—and the National Child Labor Committee has willingly adopted the suggestion and a bill is now pending in Congress to create such a Bureau. It will become a law, I believe, only if you women want it earnestly enough to work for it. You have in your clubs endorsed the Crane bill to establish the bureau, but this will not be enough to get it. You must endorse it over and over again, write personally over and over again to your Senators and Representatives, make a point of seeing them about it when they return home from Washington. Write "*Children's Bureau*" on your program for work and discussion next fall in every club here represented, and when the next session of Congress assembles in December we will have a National Children's Bureau, and half the battle against child labor will be won."

CHILD LABOR IN BELGIUM.

By FRANCIS H. McLEAN in Collaboration With Professor Emile Waxweiler of Brussels. A report prepared for the National Consumers' League.

The history of the regulation of child labor in Belgium presents to us a curiously mixed and confusing development. This is because the standards set by the law of December 13, 1889, which still is the chief law on the subject, were not high and also because that statute opened the way for letting down the bars in some directions, and in building the fences higher in other

directions, through administrative decrees. The excellencies and defects of the system of continental administrative law systems are well illustrated in this sphere of legislative activity. It may sound paradoxical but it seems to be true, that administrative bodies are likely to be both strict and lenient whenever there is left to them the detailed interpretation of a law in which they are permitted to make concessions under some circumstances and to make the restrictions severer than in the original law under other circumstances. The law of December 13, 1889, permitted the administration to limit or entirely forbid the employment of children under the protected age (16) as well as women under age of 21, in occupations which might thereafter be determined upon as being dangerous for them or beyond their strength. On the other hand in industries which might be injuriously affected by interruptions at certain periods, the administration could arrange for excepting such industries from the operations of the law, prohibiting night and Sunday work. These two provisions contain the keynote of the development since 1889.

While the law of 1889 was by no means behind the times at the period of its enactment, as we go over the provisions you will readily perceive that, it is archaic now even when interpreted in the light of the administrative decrees which have followed. After all, basic standards must be set by legislation, administrative interpretations cannot entirely reconstruct. The development in Belgium plainly indicates the need of a new law, based upon the progress of thought during the last decade. France and Belgium, as would naturally be expected, have proceeded along somewhat similar lines of progress in this field, but there has been later legislation in France which marks an advance over the position now occupied by Belgium.

The Law of December 13, 1889.

Turning to the law of December 13, 1889, we find employment of children under 12 prohibited and the employment of children under 16 and women under 21 thus regulated:

1. Not more than 12 hours' work per day in any industry and in a number as indicated below there is restriction to from 6 to 11 hours, the greater number of such special provisions however limiting to 10 hours.
2. Not more than six days' labor per week, excepting in industries indicated below.
3. No work between 9 P. M. and 5 A. M. This also subject to exceptions.
4. Employment in unhealthy or dangerous occupations prohibited in some cases, strictly regulated in others.

Special Limitations on Hours of Labor for Women and Children.

By a number of administrative decrees made by authority of the Law of December 13, 1889, the following special limitations on hours of labor in particular industries have been made:

Industry	For	Limitation of hours of labor	Duration of periods of rest
Spinning and weaving of flax, cotton and hemp	Children (14 & over)	11½	1½
Ditto	Women to age 21	6	1½
Brick & Tile making, etc	Children 12 & 13 yrs.	12	If 8-12 hours' work, 1½ hours. If 6-8 hours' work, 1 hr.
Clothing industries, hosiery, lace, embroidery, braid, etc.	All protected by law	11	1½
Mechanical construction work on large scale (machines, locomotives, etc.)...	Ditto	11	1
Mechanical construction work on large scale (machines, locomotives, etc.)...	Children 14-16	11½	1½
Woolen manufacturing	Women to 21	10	1
Preserving of fish...	All protected by law	11	If work is over 8 hours, 1½ hours. If from 6-8 hours, 1 hour.
Subterranean work in mines of ore.....	Women 16-21	11	½ of time of work
Ditto	Girls 12-16	Prohibited	Ditto
Ditto	Boys 12-14	4	Ditto
Ditto	Boys 14-16	10½	
Manufacturing of sugar	All protected by law	10½	1½
Chemical matches....	Ditto	10½	1½
Manufacturing of glass windows in hollowed ovens and ovens for pitchers.	Ditto	10½	1½
Manufacture of coke	Ditto	10½	1½
Manufacture of by-products of coke..	Ditto	10½	1½
Manufacture of charcoal	Ditto	10½	1½
Glass works.....	All protected	10	3 rests: 1 of 20 min. in morning; 1 hr. at noon, and 20 min. in afternoon.
Printing of newspapers	Ditto	10	1½
Industrial arts, including lithographing, photographing, polishing metals, etc	Ditto	10	1½
Manufacture of paper	Children 14-16 and Women 16-21	10½	1½
Ditto	Children 12-14	6	1½
Manufacture of tobacco and cigars..	Children 14-16 and Women 16-21	10	1½
Ditto	Children 12-14	6	1½
Manufacture of pottery, crockery and earthenware	All protected by law	10	1½
Manufacture of fire-proof products ...	Ditto	10	1½
Manufacture of looking glasses.....	Ditto	10	1½
Building trades.....	Children	8 in Dec., Jan. and Feb. 10 during remainder of year	1½
Manufacture of zinc.	Children 14-16	10	1½
Ditto	Women 16-21	5	1
Manufacture of small mechanical instruments	Children 14-16	Varying from 10-11 in different particularized industries	1½
Ditto	Women 16-21	10	1½
Surface work around mines	Children 12-14	10	1½
	All protected by law	10	1½

The table as arranged above is certainly a very curious one. It is quite evident that the administrative decrees have been fashioned in an attempt to further the interests of the child and at the same time to maintain existing routines as far as possible in the different industries. They are indeed interesting as marking the progress of events in Belgium since the law of 1889, limited as the standards were of the original law.

Night Work.

While the administrative decrees show progress in cutting down the hours of labor in many important industries, it is unfortunately true that retrogression is indicated in their conceding night work in certain industries where employers have apparently claimed that their routines and systems cannot be changed to meet new conditions.

For purposes of comparison it will be well to recall that in France, Belgium's neighbor, night employment for children as a customary thing is only permitted in mills where "fire burns continually." Here only for male children. In a few other industries such as the making of butter, ready-made clothing, toys, the preserving of fruit and fish, overtime work to 11 at night may be permitted during busy seasons and not for more than 60 days in any one year. In Belgium night work is permitted during the whole year in the following industries:

1. Manufacture of paper—for boys between 14 and 16.
2. Manufacture of sugar—for children between 14 and 16 and young women between 16 and 21.
3. Manufacture of looking glasses—for boys between 14 and 16 at the "flowing" of the glass.
4. Manufacture of zinc—for boys between 14 and 16.
5. Manufacture of ordinary glass products—for children between 14 and 16, and young women to 21.
6. Manufacture of enamel—for boys between 14 and 16.
7. Manufacture of window glass in hollowed ovens—for children between 14 and 16, and young women to 21.
8. Mining underground—for boys 14 to 16.
9. Surface work around mines—for women 16 to 21, sometimes limited to midnight.

Besides these special privileges for night work to be taken advantage of at any time, preservers of fish may employ children between 14 and 16 and young women between 16 and 21, up to 12 at night for not over 30 days in any one year. No such child or woman is to work more than 12 hours in any 24.

It is to be hoped that the pendulum has swung its length in this matter of special privileges and that from now on there will be a gradual reduction in the amount of night work permitted to minors.

Sunday Work.

Beautifully archaic and quaint are certain special administrative regulations permitting Sunday work in certain industries, work which is apparently considered necessary. The following list shows in what factories a certain amount of work every other Sunday may be permitted in connection with some manufacturing process:

1. Manufacture of looking glasses—boys between 14 and 16 for not over 6 hours with one hour of rest.
2. Manufacture of ordinary glass products—children between 14 and 16 for 6 hours with half hour of rest.
3. Manufacture of window glass in hollowed ovens and ovens for pitchers—children between 14 and 16 and young women 16 to 21.

Strangely enough the decree is silent on any limitation of hours beyond the ordinary limitation for week days.

4. Manufacture of coke—boys between 14 and 16 for 8 hours with one hour of rest.

But the state having thus permitted some of its wards to enter workshops on Sundays is not forgetful of its responsibilities, but rises to the occasion by requiring that in addition to the periods of rest indicated above, each person so employed shall be given opportunity to attend to his religious worship. That is simply delicious,—the very apotheosis of compromise is here reached—industrialism is satisfied—the needs of the soul are attended to, excepting in one case. The decree regarding the manufacture of window glass makes no provision of this sort. The concession here to industrialism appears to be complete.

It is striking indeed that the trail of the glass dragon seems to be as much in evidence in Belgium as in the United States. This despite very radical differences in industrial processes.

Interdicted Occupations.

There are 20 industries in which the employment of women and girls under the age of 21 and of boys under the age of 16 is absolutely prohibited. In France the number is 47. Of our 20, 15 have to do with the manufacture of chemicals as against 32 for France. The other five bar the workers classed above from rooms of dissection, depots of animal waste and factories making other products out of animal waste, menageries and workshops making use of hog bristles.

Forty-four occupations are forbidden for children under 16 though women may work in them. In comparison France only has a list of 10. The chemical group heads the list with a total of 23, thus evening upon the two groups in the two nations. The other prohibitions refer to the following: slaughter houses, gut works, establishments for the flaying and cutting up of horses, the preparation of old hides, manufacture of tar packing for vessels, utilization of kitchen waste, utilization of the entrails of

animals, the development of electric power where accumulators are charged for the production of light and use of power at a distance, manufacture of packing tar oil, quicksilvering of mirrors, oil distillations (6 forms concerned), the salting and smoking of fish, utilization of blood of animals, salting of meats, application of varnish paints, polishes, etc., manufacture of varnish.

As in France there is a long list of industries in which employment is forbidden in certain processes only. Only that while in France, in 34 out of a total of 94, women of any age also are barred out; in Belgium there are but three industries (out of 92) in which this is the case and the prohibitions then only extend to women under 21 years of age. Let us tabulate these three and find just where women and children are excluded:

1. Manufacture of chemical matches—No women or girls under 21 and no boys under 16 to be employed where the paste is made or where the matches are steeped in phosphorus. Also no child under 14 to be employed where the cases are filled.

2. India Rubber—No one under 16 to be employed. The work of women between 16 and 21 to be limited to five hours per day.

3. Taking off of hides of hares and rabbits—No women under 21 and no children under 16 to be employed where chemicals are used.

The next group of interdictions prohibits employment of children under

16. Classifying roughly by nature of occupation we develop this table:

Manufacture or use of chemicals.....	6
Processes with metals.....	4
Processes with stone and other minerals (excluding metals)	3
Processes with animal products.....	13
Processes with vegetable substances.....	3
Miscellaneous and composite.....	4

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The third series of regulations prohibit the employment of children under 14.

A table, similar to the one just given, yields this classification:

Processes with metals.....	9
Processes with stone and other mineral substances (ex- cluding metals)	2
Processes with animal products.....	4
Processes with vegetable substances.....	5
Miscellaneous and composite.....	6

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Illustrations of Prohibitions.

Space forbids the presentation here of all the industries and processes affected by these prohibitions, but a few taken out of the list are herewith given.

(a) Prohibition of employment of children under 16.

INDUSTRY.	PROCESSES COVERED BY PROHIBITION.
1. Manufacture of explosive products.	All processes in the workshops.
2. Refining of precious metals.	Where acids are used.
3. Saw mills.	Where dangerous tools are used.
4. Manufacture of liquors.	Where distillation is effected.
5. Silver plating and gilding.	Galvanization and gilding.
6. Manufacture of cement.	Pounding, grinding and sifting where the dust evolved is not drawn out of the shops by some mechanical device.
7. Depots of rags.	Practically a complete elimination of child labor.
8. Manufacture of brushes on a large scale.	Where dust is disengaged and gathers.
9. Manufacture of oil from grease.	Where heated to high temperature.
10. Washing or bleaching of sponges.	Where fetid odors are thrown out by gelatinous animal matter.

(b) Prohibition of employment of children under 14.

1. Galvanization of iron.	Where galvanization is effected.
2. Manufacture of hemp, flax and analogous substances.	Where dust is freely evolved and is not cleared away by some mechanical process.
3. Breweries.	Where distillation occurs.
4. Plating of metals on a large scale.	Scraping and plating.
5. Manufacture of porcelain.	Where dust is freely evolved.

Other General Provisions of the Law of December 13, 1889.

The word factory is not accurately defined in the law but as in France there is expressly excepted from its regulations all domestic workshops where members of the respective families only are employed, when the industries in such workshops are not classed as dangerous or unhealthful and when boilers and mechanical motors are not used in them.

Women may not be employed during the four weeks after child-birth.

A fine of from 26 to 100 francs may be imposed upon conviction for a violation of any provision of the law but where conviction covers the illegal employment of a number of persons the total fine shall not exceed 1,000 francs. A second conviction means the doubling of this amount.

A fine of from 1 to 25 francs may be imposed upon a parent or guardian for the illegal employment of a child.

Enforcement of the Law.

The enforcement of the law is carried out by a small corps of mining engineers and factory inspectors subordinate to the Minister of Industry and Labor. There are a few physicians on the staff and also a few women; but there have been very bitter comments on the smallness of the inspection corps and various attempts have been made to enlarge it, so far without avail.

No Educational Tests.

There is no compulsory education law in Belgium and consequently a child is not required to attain to a minimum degree of culture before being allowed to work. The age limit is the only limit. A keen observer states that most of the children of poor parents go to work just as soon as it is possible. He also says that the education of the child before his working days is very poor and incomplete. In this direction it is certain that Belgium has by no means reached the standards which prevail in France.

A Case of Arrested Development.

Despite the progress made in reducing slightly the hours of labor in certain industries, which has been commented on above, it is certain that the history of the administration of the child labor law in Belgium is not one of unmixed progress. It is true that the lists of forbidden occupations for children are large but on the other hand retrogression for original standards is plainly indicated by the extension of night and "every other Sunday work." Then again if we compare Belgium and France, which has so well specialized in excluding children from certain industries, we at once observe the inferiority of the former, which may be graphically illustrated by the following table.

Nation	Industries and Processes in which employment of women and children is prohibited	Employment of Children between 16 & 18	Employment of Children between 14 & 16	Employment of Children between 12 & 14
France	81	138	67	167
Belgium	23	23	56	82
(girls only)				

It should be remembered that this table is a progressive one, each class, as one reads from left to right, including the industries counted in the pre-

ceding classes. One glance suffices to indicate how far Belgium falls behind. It is perhaps well to again remind ourselves that in both France and Belgium the original agitation for the abolition of child labor took the form not of making rigid and high age requirements but of barring out children from certain industries which were emphatically dangerous to their health. But the whole trend of the movement in France plainly indicates that there has been an infusion of other ideas and France is slowly working up to the higher standards in the direction of age requirements, while at the same time far outdistancing other countries in the number of its prohibitions which protect children up to 18 years even. Belgium has let down the bars somewhat since the Law of 1889 and it remains to be seen just what will be the administrative history of the next few years. The period of what looks like disastrous compromise is not over.

A Repeated Lesson.

Nevertheless Belgium repeats the lesson which France taught. Backward indeed on age, educational and night work limitations, it again points out to us the value existing in continental systems of administration and administrative decrees in barring children from many particular industries. Though these systems of prohibitions were born out of a spirit of compromise, still it is a question if when we have established our fixed standards in the United States, we shall not turn to them for suggestions as to further specific prohibitions. There is need yet for the protection which specific prohibitions will give to boys between 16 and 18 and young women to 21 as well as to children between 14 and 16 so long as their employment is legal.

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR IN ITALY.

BY DR. G. M. PALLICCIA, PERUGIA, ITALY.

In those States of Europe where the Reformation took root, there manifested itself once more, though under another aspect, the pagan system of public charity, the obligation of the State to succor the needy. Italy, remaining Catholic, still considered charity as a duty resulting from the tie of fraternity amongst all men, a duty which did not belong to the Government, but to the more fortunate members of society. Legacies and foundations "*ad pias causas*," in the most varied forms,—small doles, alms-houses, medical relief at home or in hospitals, *crèches* and infant asylums multiplied, always more or less associated with religious worship. These hybrid institutions, which were something between public, private, and ecclesiastical charities, began from the eighteenth century to be regarded with disapproval in some Italian States, which, notwithstanding the obstacles raised by the Church, tried to bring these "*Opere Pie*" under the control of the State. At the same time the idea of public charity began to make progress. Count

Cavour wrote in 1835 a valuable discussion on the voluminous Report of the Commission appointed in 1832 "to make diligent and full enquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales," showing the effects which the proposed reforms would have. In his speech made in Parliament on the 17th of February, 1851, he did not hesitate to declare: "I believe that there exists an immense prejudice against public charity, but nevertheless one can predict that every society arrived at a certain stage of development must adopt such a policy. I believe also that experience will show in the not far future that public charity, well administered, under prudent regulations, may produce immense benefits without having those fatal consequences which are so much feared."

But the first legislative reforms in charitable administration took place at an epoch in which statesmen were imbued with the doctrines of the orthodox philanthropy; and had a deficient knowledge of the condition of the poorer classes of the new Kingdom, an ignorance which became absolute south of Tuscany. All this hindered the Government from having a clear vision of what to do. Thus the varied forms of public beneficence were regulated by laws which were diverse and disconnected, if not absolutely contradictory.

Since Italians themselves find it difficult to comprehend the organization of public beneficence in their own country, it is by no means easy to present a complete and exact abstract of that very intricate system, which only differs essentially from those of England and France. The reforms hitherto carried out have to a great extent succeeded (1) in regulating the operation of the "*Opere Pie*," which had become sources of waste and extravagance; and (2) in "wrenching from the hands of faithless and covetous administrators the patrimony of the poor," as Minister Crispi declared on the 29th of April, 1890, in the Senate. On the other hand, they have not given to Italy an organic body of legislative provisions on this delicate and difficult subject.

The principal reform on which is based a great part of the actual system was effected in 1890. It was sought not only to better the administration of the "*Opere Pie*," but also to make charity as scientific as possible.

Of the "*Opere Pie*," properly so called, in 1890, there were in Italy 21,819 with a capital fund of about 2,000 millions of lire, which gave an actual income of 90 millions (which would have been about 100 millions if better administered). Of this income at least 40 millions were absorbed by charges on estates and expenses of administration, while of the 50 remaining millions the smaller part was devoted to works of beneficence, the larger being absorbed by expenditures for religious worship, which in Sicily reached 19 per cent., in the Neapolitan Provinces 31 per cent., and in Abruzzi 36 per cent. Some of the "*Opere Pie*" were better administered, though they did not yield the good results which they ought to have done in an enlightened country. In one of these charitable societies, which was said to be admirably managed and intended to bring up girls to household duties, the Hon. Villari found that, amongst more than one thousand pupils between eight to eighteen years of age, only 10 per cent. were able with difficulty to read and write.

Out of 21,819 beneficent institutions hardly a thousand had an endowment sufficient to pay their expenses. Of the others, 10,700 had a yearly income inferior to 500 lire (\$100), and 4,200 had less than \$300.

What benefit could these 14,900 institutions render to humanity if they could not even maintain themselves? Furthermore, there existed 4,215 "Opere Pie" with an endowment of 180 millions of lire, which yielded a yearly income of 10 millions. The great majority of these, acting on the principle of giving charity to whoever asked it, were becoming most injurious by promoting idleness and mendicancy.

Professional beggars grew and multiplied, and, in the communes where there were various charitable institutions, they availed themselves of all. In Venice, according to statistics made by the late Professor Cecchetti, one-third of the population was on the poor register. There were many beggars who had even taken a chair in Piazza San Marco in order to obtain charity in the most comfortable way possible. Although they paid more for the post than they would have done had they rented a shop, they, however, preferred this way of getting a livelihood, which was much easier than working all day, and they were sure of leaving a good fortune at their death. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to obtain reforms in the administration: first, economy in the management; secondly, the impossibility of abusing public charity; thirdly, the power of watching over and controlling all money bequeathed for charitable purposes. It was decided to substitute the Congregation of Charity (Congregazione di Carità) for the old statutory representation in the administration of the "Opere Pie." It is an executive committee of the public charity of the entire commune, existing in every commune, even if it has no funds to administer. The membership varies from four to twelve in proportion to the population of the commune, besides a president. The board is elected by the municipal council. Its principal duties are: (1) to administer and expend the moneys left for the poor generally, and not to specific institutions; (2) to regulate the institutions which have not, or cannot have, individual administrative bodies, and to temporarily control those institutions whose administrative bodies, by a royal decree, are dissolved in consequence of non-observance of the laws; (3) to promote the administration and judicial provisions for the assistance and protection of orphans and foundlings, of poor blind and deaf mutes, and assume temporarily their superintendence in cases of urgency.

The law of July 17th, 1890, declared that there should be concentrated under the management of the Congregation of Charity: (1) the institutions not having a yearly income exceeding five thousand lire (\$1,000), and which existed in a commune with less than ten thousand inhabitants; (2) all the eleemosynary and charitable institutions. In order to abolish charity in the old sense (which consisted in distributing money and soup at the doors of convents), the method of distributing relief was reorganized by devoting the incomes to some beneficence which was most in harmony with the nature of the institution and the intentions of the founder, following thus the English theory of the "cy-pres."

Besides these reforms, there has been made an entire change in the object

of many "Opere Pie." There existed in Italy 12,684 *confraternite* (associations of the faithful, having for their scope religious worship as well as charity, the majority being approved by the Bishop or the Pope), of which 9,464 had an endowment of their own amounting to 302,167,205 lire. The others were supported by begging and the contributions of the Associates. This endowment produced an income of hardly nine millions. Only 1,900,000 lire were spent in charity, the rest was spent on masses, lights, processions, fire-works, and similar matters. Several institutions had ceased to promote the objects for which they were created, or had purposes no longer corresponding to any public need. Others had become superfluous because their objects were in different ways fully provided for. It is enough to mention that in 1890 in two communes, Canepina (near Rome) and Positano (near Salerno), there still existed associations which had for their object ransoming slaves from the Turks; there being no more slaves to ransom, the Associates did as they pleased with the income. To change the will of the founder, which was called "*constans et perpetua voluntas*," to divert the funds left by him to other objects on the ground that the original intention had become useless and obsolete, met with great opposition in Parliament, some members declaring the State had not the right to despoil institutions not created but only recognized by it, just as it was not lawful to despoil individual citizens because they had become old and infirm. The opposition became even more serious when it was proposed to entrust such a faculty to the executive power. But after a great debate, in which reference was made to the English method of dealing with obsolete charities, the proposal was approved. Thus Parliament entrusted the executive power with the faculty of transforming not only the true and proper "Opere Pie" so as to divert them to a new charitable object of superior utility to the preceding one, but also other institutions not strictly charitable, such as endowments for monasteries, hospices for catechumenes, pilgrims and hermits, and similar institutions not founded for civil or social objects, fraternities and brotherhoods, "Opere Pie" of religious worship, excluding those corresponding to some real need of the population.

All these reforms, however, did not place public charity on a systematic basis. In Italy there is no Poor Law, and no public almshouses. The public system is not always homogeneous, but is complicated by various existing laws, according to which the communes and the provinces are obliged to grant certain subsidies. The function of public assistance being confided to local bodies, it necessarily follows that both public charity and the expending of alms assume a territorial character; and the funds in a given commune cannot be expended, as a rule, in favor of a poor individual belonging to another commune. Thus the communes or the provinces, or the charitable institutions must be repaid the money expended upon a poor individual not belonging to them. In order to identify the commune to which the poor belong, the law of July, 1890, substituted for the system of civil domicile that of the "domicile of succor." The recipient must have lived for more than five years in one commune without notable interruptions; and failing that, must establish the fact of birth, even if illegitimate, in the commune.

But what persons in Italy have the right to assistance, and by what institutions and authorities is it granted? There are three categories in which one may classify the destitute: (1) those who have not the will to work; (2) those who have not the means, and who, despite good-will, remain unemployed; (3) those who have not the power to work,—children, old people, the infirm and invalids. It is only to these last that the law gives the right to assistance, except in very urgent cases in which the Congregations of Charity, if they have the means, ought to succor the poor to whatever commune they belong; and without any right to be reimbursed. Thus the State does not guarantee subsistence to the unemployed, and does not provide employment for able-bodied persons. These, in Italy, are provided for by the institutions of private charity, which have always been very successful.

Thus, public assistance is guaranteed only to destitute persons who have not the power to work. The different and confused provisions of the laws may, therefore, be reduced to the following heads: (1) Each commune is bound to provide for the medical assistance of the poor both within and without their homes, and according to the law of 1904 to give them also medicines, if these are not provided by special charitable institutions. The list of the poor in each commune is compiled every year by the municipal "Junta." (2) Each commune is obliged to reimburse to the hospitals the expenses of the sick poor who have acquired the "domicile of assistance," but it can be recovered by the local Congregation of Charity or other institutes of beneficence which are liable to this obligation, except cases in which the statutes of the hospital exclude the right of being repaid. (3) The provinces are obliged to maintain the insane poor belonging to them in asylums. (4) The province and the commune together are bound to maintain foundlings. (5) The Congregation of Charity in each commune is obliged to fulfill in favor of the poor all these services we have already mentioned. (6) The hospitals and poor-houses are obliged to assist in urgent cases, although the poor person has not the "domicile of succor" in the commune. (7) Persons recognized by the local police authorities as being unable to work and being without means or relations bound to assist them, are by the same authority placed in a local poor-house, or failing that, in some other asylum. The expense for their maintenance is charged to the poor-house if financially able. But if the funds are insufficient, all or part of the expense will be charged to the commune of origin; and where the same cannot provide for them without imposing new taxes, it will be charged to the State. This is the only case in which the State, however subsidiarily, intervenes to meet expenditure on public charity.

In recent years a feeling of horror has grown up in Italy against the mischievous growth of begging. "I consider it a moral necessity," said Signor Crispi, the Prime Minister, in the Chamber of Deputies in 1888, "to proclaim loudly the principle that begging is unlawful also amongst us, and no longer can mendicancy be considered as authorized."

In 1888 it was enacted that not only everyone able to work, if caught in the act of begging, should be arrested and punished, but also those who, not having informed the police authorities that they were unable to work, were

found begging in the public streets. Unfortunately, this evil could not be entirely destroyed, but, after the powerful blows administered, it is beginning to disappear. And it would perish more quickly if the foreigners, especially English and Americans, who come to Italy, and who have no real knowledge of the true condition of the people, were not so ready to give their alms to the first beggar who demands it; not knowing that the really poor in Italy are reluctant to lower themselves by asking for money, and that, on the contrary, they do their best to earn their bread, if their physical powers enable them to do so; and if unable to work they seek some poor-house in which they will be welcomed.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Recent Inspection of Meat Supply

A Symposium

Chicago.—HUGO S. GROSSER, City Statistician, Chicago, Ill.

New York.—THOMAS DARLINGTON, M. D., Commissioner Department of Health, New York City.

Cincinnati.—MAX B. MAY, and JOSEPH M. GOOD, V. S. M. D., Chief Meat Inspector, Cincinnati, Ohio.

New Orleans.—DR. QUITMAN KOHNKE, City Health Officer, New Orleans, La.

Detroit.—DELOS F. WILCOX, Ph. D., Secretary Detroit Municipal League.

Milwaukee.—JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wis.

Washington, D. C.—MURRAY GALT MOTTER, Chief Inspector and Deputy Health Officer, District of Columbia.

Providence.—FRANK E. LAKEY, Providence, R. I.

CHICAGO

By HUGO S. GROSSER, City Statistician, Chicago, Ill.

Practically all meat consumed in Chicago comes from the large slaughter houses, commonly called the packing houses; but a small percentage comes from smaller establishments, whose trade is almost entirely local. There is, too, some meat consumed in Chicago which is slaughtered at outside points in Illinois, but the quantity is small. Broadly speaking, the great houses of Armour, Swift, Morris, Libby-McNeal & Libby, Schwartzschilds & Sulzburger, Cudahy and the National are the butchers and meat market men of Chicago. The bulk of the meat, animals, hogs, cattle, calves and sheep which come to the Chicago market are grown and fattened on Western prairies. A good many of what are known as ranch cattle, or cattle which are raised and fitted for market entirely on the immense ranges and ranches of the far west and southwest, Texas and New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Western Kansas, Wyoming, Idaho and Montana and the Dakotas, find their way to the Chicago market, although there are several meat slaughtering and packing points nearer to the prairies where they are grown.

These, however, constitute by no means the largest part of the cattle

supply of Chicago. The fine beef cattle and the choice hogs come largely from the corn growing districts in Illinois and Iowa and parts of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Indiana. Hogs, of course, are usually bred in the locality in which they are fattened. Very many of the prime beef cattle, however, are western born and bred and are sent from the grass ranges to the corn belt for quick fattening and finishing for market. Of course, considering the healthfulness of the Chicago meat supply, the source of the animal supply is an important point, for the diseases to which cattle and hogs are subject are largely dependent upon the locality from which the animals come.

For instance, tuberculosis is very rare in the stock that is raised and fattened on ranches and farms where there is plenty of room to run out of doors. A small percentage of beef animals come from the dairy districts contiguous to Chicago. These are the class of cattle commonly denominated as "canners," consisting mostly of cows, although these do not in themselves constitute anything like a majority of the stock used for canning purposes. A very great proportion of the beef animals used for canning are the western beef animals, which come to market in fair condition, and healthy, but not fat, as fat meat is not desirable for canning purposes. Ninety per cent of the cases of tuberculosis found among beef animals are found among the cattle which come from the dairy district, and particularly among cows; but this ninety per cent is an almost imperceptible part of the total number of animals slaughtered in Chicago.

This question of diseased animals has been over-emphasized in much of the recent discussion of the meat question throughout the country. The percentage of diseased animals, that is animals suffering from diseases of any kind, which the authorities regard as rendering the meat unwholesome, is very small. In cattle, the condemnations run from three-fourths of one per cent to one per cent; in hogs, the condemnations run about one-fourth of one per cent. Thus the percentage of diseased animals being very small in the first instance, the provisions for inspection are such as to make it practically impossible that diseased meat from these animals should reach the public.

The slaughtering houses and packing houses in Chicago can hardly be considered ideal establishments; yet they certainly are not the unmitigated adjuncts of an inferno, as one might infer from some of the things said and printed about them. In character of construction, appointments, and so forth, they are nothing like what they would be if they were to be built new today. In these respects they are probably not equal to newer plants in many other cities, particularly states further west which have come into prominence as packing centers only within a comparatively few years. The meat packing industry as we know it today, is comparatively young. It was inaugurated at Chicago thirty-five years ago. Its growth has been phenomenal. The firms which dominate the trade now were in the trade from the beginning. Their resources particularly in those days were tied up in their business. When their houses were built it was impossible to figure with the stupendous growth that the industry has experienced, and consequently a great deal of patch work was done, and the various buildings

and apartments are not co-ordinated as they would be in a plant newly built as an entirety. The packer's business was booming to such an extent that he hesitated to close down a part of his plant long enough to erect an entirely new plant. Instead, he tried to remodel and adjust it by building additions and supplementary buildings. The consequence has been that the Chicago packing houses, with many of the buildings at least twenty years old, and some of them older, are deficient in the application of up-to-date ideas in sanitation, ventilation, and so forth; but while these buildings in which the slaughtering and meat-packing is carried on are old and deficient in these points, it cannot be said that they are kept in an unspeakably filthy condition. They have not been made as attractive as they could have been made by means of more liberal amounts of paint and whitewash. The owners of them have utterly neglected the æsthetics of the building. In the rush of business, they have not given much attention to appearances. But it must be admitted that they are reasonably clean when looked upon from the proper viewpoint. Dirt that accumulates in any slaughter or meat packing establishment is, of necessity, largely composed of animal matter, blood, fat, grease and scraps of meat. Animal matter left about to accumulate in cracks, corners and crevices or on the floor will inevitably putrefy and produce a stench that cannot be confused with any other smell ordinarily denominated a packing house smell; the absence of such a stench from practically all Chicago establishments must be taken as an evidence that while woodwork and the like becomes stained and discolored and may not look clean, yet in fact it must be reasonably clean or it would give off an unendurable stench that would make living within miles of these packing houses impossible.

In the past few years, long before the recent agitation was thought of, there has been a noticeable improvement throughout these establishments. The use of asphalt, concrete, brick and other impervious substances for floors in killing and meat handling departments, has been coming rapidly into vogue. As a reason why such materials were not used sooner, the packers claim that they have had some difficulty in experimenting with asphalt and concrete, and finding the exact composition that would not suffer disintegration and deterioration from the animal acids coming in contact with it. For some years, and especially now more than ever, all of the large packing houses have been and are spending large amounts of money in making these improvements.

As Chicago is, generally speaking, the main source of meat supply for nearly the entire country, it is somewhat difficult to differentiate materially between the inspection of the local meat supply and the inspection for the interstate and foreign trade as furnished by the federal government, as well as the local authorities. The large packing houses have had government inspection since it was inaugurated, and have always favored it, simply because they found it a material advantage in their foreign trade to be able to say that their meats were inspected under the direction of the national government. The regulations of this national inspection applied to all meats handled in any house where it was once established.

Since 1891, government inspection includes the examination of the live animals before slaughter, and of the carcasses at the time of slaughter. And it is, of course, impossible to distinguish between a carcass that is intended for consumption in Chicago and a carcass intended for shipment to Boston, New York, San Francisco, or shipment abroad. In fact, parts of one carcass might be used in Chicago and other parts go abroad. Therefore, the whole animal has to be inspected. On this point there has been much misinformation. It is frequently believed that government inspection applies only to meats intended for export. As a matter of fact, with a single exception, the microscopic examination for trichinæ in pork going to Germany, all animals killed in Chicago plants have been subjected to exactly the same inspection, whether they are intended for local, interstate or export trade. No house having government inspection can, under the law, purchase animal products of any kind from an establishment that is without government inspection, and therefore practically all the slaughtering establishments are under the same regulation, as otherwise they would be forced out of business as they could not meet competition without getting something for their by-products. Thus, there have never been more than three or four small slaughtering establishments in the city of Chicago that were operated without the restriction of government inspection.

It is claimed by the Department of Agriculture that inspection regulations in this country as applied in Chicago are so much more stringent than the regulations which obtain in any other country on earth. By the fact that pathologists, bacteriologists and veterinarians of established reputation, such as Dr. W. A. Evans and Dr. Maximillian Herzog of Chicago, Dr. M. P. Ravenel of Pittsburgh, A. P. Peters of Nebraska, Dr. M. H. Reynolds of Minnesota, Dr. Douglas Dalrymple of Louisiana, Prof. Wm. H. Welsh of Johns Hopkins University, and others, support this contention, it seems to be well established that many animals are condemned and destroyed in Chicago and other American cities which in many other countries would be passed for food.

The government inspectors who have charge of this work in Chicago are all trained veterinarians. The manner in which they perform their duty is substantially as follows:

Hogs, after being killed and bled and put through the scalding tank and through a scraping machine that removes most of the hair and bristles, pass through the hands of the butcher who severs the head through the backbone, but leaves it attached to the body by one side of the neck. From this head-cutter the hog passes under the hands of a government inspector, who examines the glands and organs of the throat and neck for evidences of disease. This examination is especially important; as it is a matter of record that ninety-five per cent of the hogs condemned are detected by this first inspection. After passing through other processes connected with the dressing of the animal, the hog is disemboweled under the eye of a second inspector. This inspector's duty is to examine the viscera—heart, lungs, intestines, etc.—for signs of infection. Neither of these inspectors makes a final examination, they simply look for conditions that

are suspected. Being trained veterinarians, they detect any evidence of an abnormal condition in the neck glands and organs or in the viscera of a hog as quickly as the ordinary man would detect an abnormality on the countenance of a friend. When either of these inspectors finds a sign of disease, he seals upon the carcass a tag, marking it as suspected. All carcasses not tagged are passed, of course, for food.

The inspected carcasses are separated from the others and are segregated. Then a third inspector, who is the chief in that establishment, makes a final examination to determine whether the evidences of disease discovered by either of the other two inspectors are of a character to make the carcass unfit for food. If the infection has been slight or merely local, or has been practically cured by nature, leaving a sign of infection that is really nothing more than a scar on the internal organs, the carcasses pass for food. If it is considered in any way unfit, and the regulations covering the conditions that make it unfit are very stringent, it is cut up and destroyed under the personal supervision and direction of this third inspector.

The destruction is accomplished in this way: The carcass is chopped up under the eye of the inspector, and is by him conducted to the rendering tank. He seals the bottom of that tank with a Government seal. The condemned meat is then thrown in at the top, and the top is likewise sealed with a Government seal. Then the steam is turned on, and this meat, mixed with refuse of various kinds that would make the product of the tank absolutely unfit for food and impossible to use as food, is left to cook at a temperature of 225 degrees for not less than four hours. The condemned meat is thus absolutely destroyed.

The method of inspecting beef animals is substantially the same as in the case of hogs, with the difference that it has been found by practice necessary to examine only the viscera of cattle; the examination of the neck and throat glands is dispensed with. On the cattle killing floor, the Government inspector follows the butcher who does the disemboweling, and as the animal's abdomen is opened, he examines for signs of disease, tags suspected carcasses, and has them segregated for further examination, and final disposition by the chief inspector.

When suspected animal carcasses are set aside, they go to a retaining room, upon which there is a government lock, and the government inspector has the only key to that lock. Therefore, such suspected carcasses could not be abstracted and sent out to the public as food, even though a packer were so conscienceless as to attempt it, without collusion with the government inspection, and there has never been any evidence in Chicago of such collusion.

These inspectors are absolutely supreme under their authority from the Department of Agriculture, and no packer or slaughterer dares to interfere with them in the discharge of their duties. They are changed from house to house every few weeks. In starting the day's killing, no packer knows what inspector or inspectors will be assigned to his establishment for that day. If the packer does not give these inspectors every facility they may

require for their work, or if he attempts to interfere with the discharge of their duties, then the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Department of Agriculture have absolute authority to withdraw all inspectors from that house. This means that the department has a right to practically put that slaughtering and meat packing house out of business, because without inspection the packer cannot do an interstate or foreign trade, and public knowledge that inspection had been withdrawn from his establishment would so prejudice his product, even for local trade, that he would probably find very little sale for it.

In addition to the federal inspectors, there are also state inspectors and city inspectors. The inspection of the meat supply under the authority of the state government is confined entirely to inspection of live animals. This is conducted in Illinois as far as I know only at the Union Stock Yards in Chicago and the National Stock Yards at St. Louis. In this inspection the state officials co-operate with the United States Government and the local inspectors.

Inspection on the hoof detects, principally in cattle, actinomycosis, or lump-jaw, possibly advanced cases of tuberculosis and emaciation, when cattle are too poor and thin to be considered as food. Animals thus detected and suspected when alive are segregated, virtually quarantined. They are not sold to the large packers or to any other slaughterers. They remain in the ownership of the man who sent them to market. Once a week or oftener if necessary, these quarantined cattle are taken to an official quarantined slaughter house, and are there slaughtered under the supervision of an United States inspector, a state inspector and a local city inspector. Some of them, of course, after slaughtered, are found to be fit for food; in which case they are passed the same as if they had been slaughtered in any of the officially inspected slaughter houses. If found to be unfit for food, they are treated the same as in the large houses; that is, the carcasses are destroyed or converted into grease and fertilizer material. The meat that is good is, of course, sold just like any other meat that is inspected and passed as fit for food, and the grease and fertilizer material that is derived from the condemned meat, are also sold, and the proceeds are remitted to the shipper.

This work is performed in Chicago by the Standard Slaughter Company, which has had a great deal of attention in recent discussions of the meat question, and its existence has been subject to very much misinterpretation. The Standard slaughter house establishment does not compare with any of the large plants in cleanliness or sanitary arrangements. For this condition there is no excuse; it ought not to be tolerated.

However, the larger amount of misinformation concerning the Standard has been along the line of treating it as an outlet for diseased cattle or diseased meat. This construction of its function is unfair.

The method of handling diseased cattle, through the Standard slaughter house, was devised to protect the public against diseased meat. Before this method was adopted by direction of the late Governor Altgeld, diseased animals coming to the stock yards at Chicago were simply separated from

their fellows and sold to anybody who would buy them. They were then run out into the country to some nearby point, where their slaughter would not be under official observation, and were there killed. The meat from them was then sold in Chicago. The method of having them killed in a quarantined slaughter house was adopted to prevent the sale of meats from inspected animals that could be shown to be after slaughter unfit for food. This quarantined slaughter house thus becomes not an outlet for diseased meat, but a gate that is locked against the passage of diseased meat to the public.

Meats that come from the Standard slaughter house, after passing inspection, are of course as good as meats from any other source, but as a matter of fact, to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the public, the large packers prefer not to deal in the Standard output.

On top of the inspection of the live cattle by the state inspectors, and the carcasses and meats by the Government inspectors, comes the inspection by the city inspectors. This may have been somewhat neglected in former years, but more recently it has been most rigid and severe. City meat inspectors are appointed under the civil service system, and are either veterinarians or at least have had a long practical experience as butchers, and so forth.

In order to show some of the qualifications required of these men, I quote here a few of the questions asked in the civil service examination for meat inspectors of February 15, 1906:

1. Name the diseases and other conditions for which you would condemn and destroy meat.
2. Describe the post mortem appearance of cattle afflicted with tuberculosis. Where lesions are usually found.
3. Describe the post mortem appearance of cattle affected with actinomycosis.
4. How would you tell immature veal, commonly called "slunk" calf?
5. Describe the post mortem appearance of a cholera hog.
6. Describe the post mortem appearance of a "downer."
7. Describe the post mortem appearance of an emaciated carcass.
8. How could you tell that the evidences of tuberculosis had been removed from a beef carcass?
9. Name three diseases commonly found in hogs.

Their duties and powers may be learned from the following quotations from the city ordinances:

"All meat condemned in the city by government or state meat inspectors shall be destroyed under the supervision and subject to the directions of the city meat inspectors, and the city meat inspectors or any one of them are hereby empowered to seize, condemn and destroy any tainted or unwholesome meat found in the city, and they are authorized to enter any building, structure or premises in the city to inspect and examine any meat contained therein.

"Every keeper of a meat market or dealer in meats and every person owning or occupying any place where any cattle are killed or dressed

. . . shall cause such place to be thoroughly cleansed and purified, and all offal, blood, fat, garbage, refuse and unwholesome or offensive matter to be therefrom removed at least once in every twenty-four hours, after the use thereof for any of the purposes herein referred to, and shall also at all times keep whitewashed the floors and counters and the building thoroughly painted and whitewashed."

The city inspectors have full power to enter any place where animals are killed, or where meat is kept, except of course, private residences. While the city inspectors are not present, as a rule, at the slaughter of the animals, they inspect daily the cooling rooms of the various establishments and there, as the records show, condemn many carcasses, often after they have passed Government inspection. They tag every carcass that they find unfit for food, even if it has already been condemned by the Government inspectors; but of course they do not inspect again that which already has been condemned.

The Commissioner of Health, in his annual report for the year 1905, states as follows:

"The city meat inspectors have condemned in the coolers and on the cutting floors, *after passing Government inspection*,

125	Cattle,	cause	Actinomycosis.
97	"	"	Emaciation.
24	"	"	Tuberculosis — evidence of disease having been trimmed out.
16	"	"	"Downers."
27	Sheep,	"	Pneumonia.
94	Hogs,	"	Pyæmia and Tuberculosis.
47,720	lbs.	cut meats shipped from St. Louis, Omaha, etc., for canning.	This meat was sour and slimy.

Dr. Charles J. Whalen, the Commissioner of Health, has recently issued the following instructions to meat inspectors:

"All animals found upon examination to be affected with any of the following diseases or conditions, shall be *condemned and destroyed*:

Tuberculosis, Texas Fever, Actinomycosis, Black Leg, Pneumonia, Piemia, Septicemia, Rabies, Hog Cholera, Swine Plague, Anthras, Mange or Scab, Hemorrhagic Septicemia, Pleurisy, Enteritis, Peritonitis, Metritis, Malignant Epizootic Catarrh, and animals in an advanced stage of Pregnancy, or within ten days after parturition; animals with extensive bruises and injuries; tumors; abscesses; anemic or emaciated animals; immature animals; calves under four weeks of age; any disease or injury or elevation of temperature so affecting the animal as to make the flesh unfit for human food.

"Any and all animals affected with any of the diseases or conditions named below shall be disposed of according to the following instructions:

"TUBERCULOSIS. All animals affected with tuberculosis of a generalized or extensive character, shall be condemned and destroyed. The carcass may be passed if the tuberculosis is slight, incapsulated or calcified, and

limited to one organ or one group of lymphatic glands. The lesions and the surrounding tissues must be removed and condemned.

"**ACTINOMYCOSIS.** The entire carcass shall be condemned whenever the actinomycosis abscess opens into the mouth, pharynx, larynx, or any part of the adjoining or respiratory tract or one of the lymphatic glands are involved, or when the lesions have become generalized or if the animal be affected with tuberculosis or any other disease. The animal may be passed if the lesions are small, calcified or incapsulated and confined to the head or neck. These affected parts and the surrounding flesh to be condemned and destroyed.

"**ICTERUS.** All animals showing evidences of Icterus (Jaundice), after proper cooling, shall be condemned and destroyed.

"All animals that have died before slaughtering shall be condemned and destroyed.

"All meats—fresh, smoked, slated or otherwise treated—which are found to be unwholesome, tainted, sour, decomposed or otherwise unfit for human food, shall be condemned and destroyed.

"All animals or parts of animals or meat or food of any kind that is condemned shall be tagged immediately with a tag furnished by the Department having upon it in large red letters 'Condemned.'

"All condemned carcasses and parts shall be tanked and destroyed under the personal supervision and direction of a meat inspector who should seal the tank after the material has been placed therein, and break such seal after he is satisfied that the steam which has been turned into the tank has completely destroyed the meat.

"In all cases where the inspector is not perfectly satisfied that the animal should be condemned, it shall be tagged and portions of the lesion removed and brought to the laboratory for examination and diagnosis by the pathologist.

LUMPY JAW.—"While Actinomycosis is usually confined to the head, and may be said in one sense to be a localized disease and while some inspectors condemn only the part involved I believe it is safest and most practicable to condemn the entire carcass whenever the Actinomycosis abscess opens into the mouth, pharynx, larynx, or any part of the digestive or respiratory tract; or when the lymphatic glands are involved; or where there are Actinomycotic Tumors in the lungs; or where the lesions have become generalized, since generalization in Actinomycosis appears to run a very atypic course, making the detection of all foci inside the muscle very difficult; therefore the entire carcass is to be condemned.

"In cases where the Actinomycotic lesions are positively localized the infected part may be cut away and the remains of the carcass used.

"These instructions apply only to 'Lumpy Jaw.' There may be other reasons why you should want to condemn a carcass, and it is then a matter of judgment for you and your men. But you should never hesitate if you believe the animal to be not fit for human food.

"CHAS. J. WHALEN, M. D.,

"Commissioner of Health."

There are at present eight inspectors engaged exclusively with the inspection of meat. During the first six months of 1906 condemnations at the Union Stock Yards and in the so-called "Loop" district, that is the down-town district where the commission houses and wholesalers are located, were as follows:

In Union Stock Yards 3500 carcasses of beef, weighing 1,054,400 pounds; 2015 carcasses of veal weighing 335,980 pounds; 4224 hogs, weighing 1,245,334 pounds.

In the "loop" district they condemned 39 carcasses of beef weighing 17,550 pounds; 738 calves, weighing 52,810 pounds, and 76 hogs, weighing 19,309 pounds.

They further condemned 62,639 pounds of dressed meats in the stock yards and 99,656 pounds in the loop district.

This does not include lamb or mutton, poultry or other foods. The slaughter houses and abattoirs, as well as the local markets, are also examined and investigated by special sanitary inspectors, and although this work had always been done to a large extent, it cannot be denied that the recent agitation has been a great incentive for more and perhaps more rigid work. All together it may be stated with safety that meat inspection in Chicago is at present carried out so rigorously as to protect Chicagoans as well as the consumers in other cities against any possibility of unwholesome meat.

NEW YORK

By THOMAS DARLINGTON, M. D., Commissioner Department of Health, New York City.

New York City derives its meat from two sources—that which is imported from the large abattoirs of the west, and that which is killed and prepared in the local slaughter houses.

The only supervision which the Department has over the western killed meat is that of the inspectors stationed in the wholesale markets and that of the inspectors who are assigned to duty in the retail butcher shops. These men are few in number and of course cannot inspect each shop every day or even every week. They do however cover the districts assigned to them as frequently as possible. The locally killed meat is examined in a general way by veterinarians in the stock yards before being delivered at the slaughter houses. After the arrival of the cattle at the slaughter houses they are under the general supervision of inspectors assigned to each slaughter house or slaughtering district as the exigencies of the service may demand. These men are required to conserve as far as possible the wholesomeness of the meat sold. Various sections of the Sanitary Code give these inspectors authority, and, in fact, the direction to condemn and seize all meat which is unfit for human food and have the same removed to the Offal Dock for destruction.

During the year 1905 there were condemned and seized 247,293 pounds of beef, 210,112 pounds of veal, 264,951 pounds of pork, 260,807 pounds of poultry, and 97,850 pounds of mutton. This with the assorted meats and game seized made a grand total of 1,110,749 pounds of meat seized during the year.

The Charter of the City of Greater New York defines quite specifically where slaughter houses may be established. Sections 83, 84, and 85 of the Sanitary Code limit the location of the slaughter houses in the Borough of Manhattan to two very small districts, and in the Borough of Brooklyn and other boroughs, to places located at or near the water front so that all stock to be killed may be delivered thereat from boats or cars, with this proviso, however, that any slaughter houses which were in existence prior to consolidation of the City of Brooklyn and the City of New York, might be allowed to conduct their business as heretofore. No new building may be constructed or operated as a slaughter house within the City limits until its proposed plans have been thoroughly examined and approved by the Board of Health at one of its stated meetings. All the parts of a building in which slaughtering is conducted are, so far as possible, made of non-absorbent material. The buildings are frequently painted or white-washed and are kept in as cleanly a condition as the nature of the business will allow.

The blood, offal, fat, and other refuse from slaughtered animals is disposed of either in disposal plants situated in the immediate vicinity of the slaughter houses, or else is conveyed to the Offal Dock in tight fitting receptacles and removed by the offal contractor for destruction. These plants are constructed in accordance with the most modern practice. All of the apparatus necessary in the treating of this material is air tight and is so arranged as to prevent the escape of offensive odors into the external air.

CINCINNATI

BY MAX B. MAY, ESQ., and JOSEPH M. GOOD, V. S. M. D., Chief Meat Inspector of Cincinnati.

About 90 per cent of the beef and 85 per cent of the pork and other meats sold in Cincinnati are slaughtered and prepared in Cincinnati. Fifty-two packing and slaughtering houses are located within the city limits. The general sanitary condition of these houses is good, a marked improvement having been made since last March; and it is expected that conditions will continue to improve steadily.

Under the revised statutes and local ordinances the Board of Health is authorized to adopt regulations for the inspection of meat. A State law makes the sale of any kind of diseased or tainted meat, without notifying the buyer of the condition thereof, an offense punishable by a fine of not more than \$50, or imprisonment for twenty days, or both. A similar penalty is visited on any person who has in his possession, with intent to sell,

any veal which he knows to have been killed when less than four weeks old. The principal law governing the sale of meats is the Board of Health regulation which prohibits any person from bringing into the city for sale any meat, fish, or poultry that is diseased, or for any other reason is unfit for food. The mere fact that animals are placed in a slaughter house pen is sufficient evidence that they are being exposed for sale. No part of any animal food that has been examined and condemned by the inspector or his assistants may be offered for sale for food in any market or place in the city. Whenever diseased or unsound animals are condemned by the inspectors as unfit for human food, the health officer may, whenever he deems it necessary for the protection of the public, order the inspectors to kill the condemned animals. The carcasses of these animals are turned over to the party who is under contract with the city to remove the bodies of dead animals. The inspectors supervise the delivery of these animals.

The Chief Live-Stock and Meat Inspector and his assistants are appointed by the Board of Public Service, sitting as the Board of Health, upon the recommendation of the Health Officer. Board of Health Reg. No. 7 says: The Live-Stock and Meat Inspector and his assistants shall enforce the laws and ordinances relating to his sub-department, and particularly those concerning diseased or unsound cattle and meats, and the sections relating to slaughtering and slaughter pens.

Besides the Chief Live-Stock and Meat Inspector there are four assistants; the chief is a graduated veterinarian and physician who has had seven years' experience as a meat inspector; the assistants are practical butchers. These inspectors inspect as best they can all animals in the pens at the various slaughter-houses, inspect the dressed carcasses in the coolers of the slaughter-houses and meat depots, inspect all retail markets and meat stores, and spend as much time as possible doing post-mortem inspection at the different slaughter-houses while slaughtering is being done.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture maintains a corps of fifteen inspectors at the Union Stock Yards and at two of the larger packing-houses. These inspectors co-operate with the Health Department as much as possible, and they do all inspecting of live animals at the Union Stock Yards, which receives about ninety-five (95) per cent of all live stock received in the city.

The final inspection of all meats, regarded as unfit for food is made by the Chief Live-Stock and Meat Inspector, and what he condemns is saturated with coal oil and sent to the desiccating works. Where carcasses of cattle, hogs, or calves are condemned the owner usually receives a small remuneration from the desiccating company.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

By DR. QUITMAN KOHNKE, City Health Officer, New Orleans, La.

The meat supply of New Orleans is derived mainly from two sources: The local slaughter houses and the Western packers. What is known as imported or western meat is shipped from Omaha, Kansas City and Chicago. This comprises about 25 per cent of the total of whole animals, though probably an equal quantity by weight is additionally received in the shape of pork loins, shoulders and miscellaneous pieces; the balance of the meat supply is from the local slaughter houses of which there are two in operation, one within the city limits and the other in the adjoining parish of St. Bernard. Roughly speaking the supply in bulk is about equally divided between imported and home slaughtered meat, the increase in consumption averaging about ten per cent yearly. The total quantity inspected in 1905 was 248,739 whole animals, 331,383 pork loins, 48,913 pork shoulders and 1,905,118 miscellaneous pieces not classified.

Railway shipments are received in refrigerator cars and the meats are, as a rule, in good condition on arrival, though delay in transport occasionally occurs and this sometimes causes condemnation of shipments in whole or in part. In 1905 there were condemned on account of decomposition 24,210 pounds of meat and in 1904, 20,919 pounds. Occasionally dressed meat is found on arrival bearing the government stamp and yet showing evidence of disease. The government stamp affords no protection to the owners against local condemnation for any cause.

Local slaughter houses have improved considerably in the last few years and are now in fairly good condition, though not to be classed with the most modern in sanitary construction and proper management. The most objectionable feature of the neighborhoods of the slaughter houses is the presence of the rendering plants, no one of which is operated with the minimum possibility of offence.

Of the two slaughter houses the one within the city limits is decidedly the better both in construction and management. It is conducted on a co-operative basis, being practically owned and operated by the butchers who market its products. While not yet including all of the desirable features of a thoroughly modern abattoir its inauguration a few years ago was a distinct and important sanitary improvement, and its success in competition has stimulated the older establishment, just outside the parish line and city limits, to extensive plans of structural improvements soon to be carried out.

The Jefferson Barracks, an important permanent army post, is situated between the two slaughter houses, and at times urgent complaints are made against the unpleasant odors arising from their proximity to the post. These and similar complaints are due, it is believed, to the rendering plants and not to the abattoirs themselves.

The act establishing boards of health in Louisiana gives to the State

Board of Health the authority to establish regulations for the inspection of food products imported into the state or brought from one parish to another, but the State Board has acquiesced in the formulation of regulations by the City of New Orleans for the inspection of meats intended for consumption in that city, and a state statute gives, especially, to the New Orleans Board of Health sanitary authority over the slaughter house in the neighboring parish of St. Bernard. The ordinance creating the meat inspection service provides for a graduated fee for the inspection of home slaughtered, and imported meats sufficient to defray the costs of such inspection, aggregating about \$15,000 annually.

In the department of local inspection there are employed from 12 to 15 inspectors, under the direction of a chief who is a veterinarian. No civil service requirements are enforced, the general civil service law not including in its scope the employees of the board of health. The meat inspectors are appointed by the Board of Health, but as the chief meat inspector is responsible for his subordinates his recommendations as to appointments and dismissals are usually adopted. Inspectors are stationed at the local slaughter houses and, at the receiving stations for imported meats and all meats are inspected and marked, by tag or stamp, prior to their being sent to the retail markets, where they are still kept under surveillance for decomposition by inspectors, who visit the markets in the early hours of the morning. The method of inspection is by sight, touch and smell; the assistant inspectors being instructed in the recognition of abnormal conditions. Occasionally chemical, microscopical and bacteriological examinations are necessary, and are made. The method of inspection is the same for imported and home slaughtered meats.

Meat found in a condition unfit for food because decomposition has set in, or for other cause, is saturated with coal oil and sent to a rendering plant or dump according to the value and quantity. At times quantities as large as 10,000 pounds and over are condemned, and, as the ownership of the meat is not affected by its condition, it is sold for account of the owner to the highest bidder prepared to destroy it. Quantities too small to have a commercial value except as food are oiled and sent to the garbage dump.

Cattle intended for slaughter are subject to inspection on the hoof by an inspector who is an appointee of the Governor. Usually he is not technically qualified and acts by deputy. This inspection has consisted for many years in a mere counting of heads for the purpose of collecting the fee. It is a farce, whose only excuse for existence, aside from furnishing a job to a political favorite, is that a part of the fee collected is paid to the Charity Hospital. No compensation is paid to owners of condemned meat other than that which is paid by the rendering plant.

The city ordinance under which the meat inspection system operates has been called into court twice; once into the State court by the local butchers and once into the Federal court by the agents of western packers. In its present shape, which is its second enactment, it fulfils every requirement of constitutional law and is unassailable.

New Orleans was at one time a market for meat that could not be

sold in other large cities, but the local meat inspection system has made it unprofitable for shippers to consign inferior meats to this city and hence the quality of shipments has improved, both in dressed meats and live stock intended for slaughter.

DETROIT, MICH.

BY DELOS F. WILCOX, PH.D., Secretary Detroit Municipal League.

Detroit gets its meat supply from various sources. Most of the dressed meat is received from the Chicago packing houses in car lots. Probably more than half of the total supply of meat, however, is received from various parts of Michigan, and slaughtered here. The animals are generally brought in by rail, although some are hauled to the city by farmers from the surrounding country. The meat brought in by individual farmers is not always seen by the inspectors. A very large part of the animals brought here for slaughter pass through the Detroit stockyards. There are, however, a large number of private slaughter-houses in the city, more than forty wholesale meat dealers and upwards of 500 retail markets. When the conditions at the Chicago stockyards were being investigated a few months ago, there was some special investigation and criticism of local conditions which led to the passage of more stringent ordinances regulating the equipment of the stock-yards and the inspection of meat.

Detroit has for the last twenty years had two meat inspectors. They were originally appointed by the Common Council, but are now appointees of the local Board of Health, whose members have since 1895 been appointed by the Governor of the State.

Three years ago the Legislature passed a general act authorizing the appointment of one or more meat inspectors by any city or village in this State, and conferring upon the local authorities power to license the meat business and regulate slaughter-houses by ordinance. Authority is given to exclude from the city or village the meats from any outside slaughtering-house which does not conform to the rules laid down. Furthermore, the municipality is authorized to establish a public abattoir, if it so desires. Meat that has already been inspected by Federal authority is exempted from local inspection except as to the place where it is sold and as to changes, decomposition, etc. This law contains stringent provisions for the regulation of slaughter-houses, which must be contained in any local ordinance adopted under the terms of the act. Under special laws, however, Detroit had long since been equipped with a meat inspection system and ordinances controlling it.

The following rules have been adopted by the Detroit Board of Health, governing the use and care of slaughter-houses within the limits of the city, and every owner, lessee or occupant of a slaughter-house is notified and required to obey them;

"First. All slaughter-houses, pens or enclosures connected therewith, shall be kept in a proper sanitary condition.

"Second. Slaughter-houses shall have water-tight floors, which shall be thoroughly washed off after slaughtering is completed.

"Third. Slaughter-houses and pens shall be whitewashed inside at least once a month.

"Fourth. All slaughtering of animals shall be conducted without exposure to the public.

"Fifth. All offal shall be removed on the day of slaughtering.

"Sixth. Iron gratings (bars not over one inch apart) are required to head all outlets to sewer from floor of slaughter-house.

"Seventh. All animals kept in yards attached to slaughter-houses must be treated in a humane manner, and, if kept there over twelve hours, must be fed and watered. Bleating calves shall not be kept in pens over twelve hours.

"Eighth. The meat inspectors of the Board of Health shall have free access to premises at all times in the performance of their duties.

"Ninth. It shall be unlawful to slaughter any animals in sheds or barns. A slaughter-house designed and built in accordance with the law is the *ONLY* place where such killing may be done, and no nuisance shall be committed."

The Detroit Board of Health act itself provides that "Neither blood, bristles, hair, entrails, or any offal whatever shall be allowed to enter any public sewer, and all entrails shall be emptied, all blood cooked, and all offal cleaned up at the place of slaughtering within six hours after such slaughtering takes place."

Until recently the city ordinance governing the stockyards has provided that they be paved with cobblestone, and of course under these conditions the floors could not be properly cleaned. The new ordinance requires that "All stockyards in the City of Detroit shall be thoroughly drained, and paved with vitrified brick or other suitable material, which may be readily and thoroughly cleaned of all accumulations, such drainage to be connected with a public sewer, and the pavement laid in such a manner as to keep the same dry and free from standing or stagnant water."

The new ordinance prescribing methods of meat inspection provides that "It shall be the duty of said inspectors personally to view as far as possible all meats and poultry offered or kept for sale for human food in said city; to visit all stock yards, barns, commission houses, slaughter houses, and all other places in said city, and to inspect all animals delivered, received, confined or held in them for slaughter, and the carcasses of all animals already slaughtered for human food, and to visit all places, including all steam and electric railway stations, depots or freight houses, steamboat wharves or freight houses belonging thereto, express houses, cars or wagons where meat for human food is delivered to, received, stored or held by railway corporations, steamboat owners, or other corporations, firms or persons, kept or offered for sale, and to inspect and ascertain the condition of said meat.

"Each of said inspectors shall have authority, and it shall be his duty to condemn, take immediate possession of, confiscate and destroy any meat or poultry, sold or offered for sale, in violation of this or any other ordinance of the city, and make complaint before the proper officer for every violation of said ordinance, coming to his knowledge, and it shall be unlawful, and a

violation of this ordinance for the owner or any other person to remove, secrete, sell or offer for sale any live animal or animals, fish, game or poultry, or the carcass or carcasses of any and all slaughtered animals, fish, game or poultry, oysters, clams, lobsters, or other sea food, after the same shall have been taken possession of, confiscated and condemned by either or both of said meat inspectors.

"Said inspectors shall at all times have the right to open any and all barrels, boxes or packages in their discretion at any of said stations, depots, wharves, freight houses, warehouses, commission houses, express houses, cars or wagons, or other places in which they have good reason to believe, any carcass of any animal, fish, poultry or game, oysters, clams, lobsters, or other sea food, or other article of meat shipped, offered or intended to be offered for sale for human food, is contained or concealed, and take immediate possession of, confiscate, condemn and destroy, if necessary."

The meat inspectors shall have the right, and it shall be their duty to condemn and cause to be slaughtered immediately and destroyed, so that the same shall not be used for human food all calves under four weeks old, or which are diseased, emaciated or otherwise unfit for human food; and all badly crippled, overheated or diseased hogs, cattle, sheep or lambs, which for any other reason are unfit for human food.

It would seem as if two inspectors would have their hands more than full in carrying out the provisions of this ordinance for a city of 350,000 inhabitants. It is claimed, however, that they visit the principal wholesale markets every day and get around to the retail markets once or twice a week. Complaints requiring their special attention are occasionally received. The city inspectors do not look after shipments of dressed meat, but see it only when and where it appears for sale. The animals brought into the city for slaughter are, however, subject to inspection. The inspectors have summary authority to condemn unsound meat or diseased animals intended for slaughter. The usual method of handling condemned meat is to treat it with kerosene oil so that it cannot be used for food. Condemned meat is sent to local rendering plants. Condemned animals are slaughtered and sent the same way. No provision is made for compensating the consignee in case shipments are condemned. He is left to adjust that with the shipper.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

By JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wis.

The Chicago and Milwaukee stock yards furnish Milwaukee with its supply of meat, and the railway shipments are large. The present condition of local slaughter houses is good. The city is very fortunate in its present health commissioner, Dr. G. A. Bading, who is competent and energetic and thoroughly alive to the sanitary necessities of the population. He was not only the first municipal health commissioner to make a drastic and thorough inspection of the condition of the local meat supply after the Neills-Reynolds

report, but he is the indefatigable foe of unsanitary conditions in every direction, including the milk supply and the care of streets, alleys, and docks. In spite of the inactivity of other departments, everything possible under the law has been done to put this city in proper condition and many important changes have been brought about. The local inspection is frequent and regular, and is conducted by inspectors under the control of the health commissioner and chief of police covering the general meat supply and the stock yards, packing houses and meat markets. The government inspection of meat appears to be confined to the condition of cattle "on the hoof," that is in the stock yards, and to the "killing rooms," comprising, of course, the condition of shipment, whereas the local inspection comprises a searching examination of unsanitary conditions of every description. The inspectors are appointed by the Health Department from an eligible list provided by the "Civil Service Commission," and are under the direction of Dr. Bading. They investigate all complaints and thoroughly examine the conditions of slaughter houses, meat markets, stock yards, bakeries and milk depots. Daily reports are made to the commissioner and necessary orders are issued and transmitted to the owners, and in due time, further inspections are made to see if the orders and suggestions of the Health Department have been carried out. The condemned meats are saturated with kerosene and destroyed or consigned to the rendering plants. The skins are turned over to the owners.

The Health Department will soon introduce an ordinance compelling all butchers, meat dealers, bakers and other dealers in food stuffs to take out licenses, in order to make more complete official control. An examination of the correspondence between the Health Department and various packing houses, together with the detailed reports of inspectors, discloses an interesting degree of detailed examination, and it is gratifying to be able to say that the packing house of the Layton Company was found to be a conspicuous model. Only one Milwaukee packing house was found to be wholly bad in its appliances and general condition. The rest were in the main not seriously faulty, and their proprietors were prompt in making the changes required by the Health Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

By MURRAY GALT MOTTER, Chief Inspector and Deputy Health Officer,
District of Columbia.

Probably 75 or 85 per cent. of the meat supply comes from the west,—chiefly, Chicago. It is shipped to Washington in cold storage cars, and is subject to inspection in local storage places after removal. All this meat bears the stamp of the Federal Government. Most of the local slaughtering is done at the Benning abattoir, the condition of which is good. There is one small slaughter house where the slaughtering is irregular and not very extensive. There are a few others where sheep and calves are killed. There are two

abattoirs in Virginia in the immediate vicinity of the District, one at Jackson City and the other at Rosslyn; the work at these abattoirs is not under inspection, being entirely outside the jurisdiction of the local health department. At the instance of the Health Officer, the Commissioners of the District have brought this matter to the attention of the Department of Agriculture, in order to have inspectors stationed at these Virginia establishments, but under date of August 24, 1904, the Acting Secretary of Agriculture stated that, "while the law authorizes the Department to establish inspection at slaughter houses doing interstate or foreign business, as a matter of fact, Congress has never appropriated sufficient funds for applying the inspection to all such places. There are now pending before the Department numerous applications for inspection, which cannot be granted because the appropriation for the current year will not permit the extension of the service, and I regret to say that under these circumstances the Department is unable to establish inspection at the places mentioned." In the annual reports of the Health Officer, attention has been called to this defect, and the recommendation has been made that all meat and meat products sold in the District should bear the seal of Federal or local inspection as a guarantee of their freedom from disease.

In the past year there have been killed, under the observation of the District inspectors, 13,254 cattle, 54,033 hogs, 24,975 sheep, and 40,935 calves. Of these, there were condemned $25\frac{1}{4}$ cattle, 108 hogs, and 36 sheep; a total of 97,199 inspected, and $169\frac{1}{4}$ condemned, not including small viscera, etc.

The local laws are contained in an ordinance to prevent the sale of unwholesome food in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, as amended by Commissioners' orders of January 2, 1902, April 21, 1903, and April 27, 1906. Also, the Act of Congress approved February 17, 1898, relating to the adulteration of foods and drugs in the District of Columbia. Briefly, the ordinance prohibits the sale of impure, diseased, decayed, or unwholesome provisions; provides that no person shall convey into the District of Columbia and offer for sale in any part of said District, any animal or part of animal that may be sickly, diseased or unwholesome, or which may have died from disease or accident; that no person shall slaughter any cattle for the purpose of food, within the District of Columbia, when such cattle are in a feverish or diseased condition. There are further provisions with regard to the exposure of food for sale, and the general cleanliness of places in which food products are kept, or stored. While the Act of Congress provides "That an article shall be deemed to be adulterated within the meaning of this act: (b) In the case of food . . . if it consists wholly or in part of a deceased, (Sic!) decomposed, putrid, or rotten animal or vegetable substance, whether manufactured or not." There is no authority by which the inspector may kill, or order killed, a diseased animal; but the same may be branded. In the inspection of meats offered for sale, it has been the practice of the Department to slash the meat, in order to prevent the making of the ordinary cuts, and in other cases to pour coal oil over it, in order that it may not again be used.

For general inspection, three of the veterinarians connected with the inspection of dairy farms and dairy products are detailed to inspect the slaughter houses two days in the week, each. There are in addition, three food inspec-

tors, whose duty is to inspect the markets, stores and restaurants. These inspectors are appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on the recommendation of the Health Officer. With regard to the inspection of meats, the Federal rules are observed, and the larger cold storage plants in which meat is stored, being near the principal market of the city, are regularly inspected.

At the abattoir, the meat which is condemned is tanked for fertilizing purposes, under the personal supervision of the inspector on duty. There is no compensation to the owner for products condemned.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

BY FRANK E. LAKEY, Providence, R. I.

The chief source of the meat supply of Providence is Chicago, only a few shipments being received from Indianapolis and Cincinnati. The local supply is furnished by one small slaughter house. The condition of this house is fair. The western meat comes dressed in refrigerator cars. No live meat is received from the west by rail. The average is forty cars of beef (25 to 40 animals) and four of mutton weekly.

If a person sells diseased or unwholesome provisions, whether meat or drink, without making the same known to the buyer, the penalty is imprisonment for not more than six months or of a fine of not more than \$200. If a calf less than four weeks old be killed for sale the fine may not exceed \$200.

A State law passed April 20, 1906, prohibits the importation or exportation, or possession with intent to sell, within the State of any slaughtered animal, or any meat or fish of any kind, whether manufactured or not, that is tainted or diseased, or any unwholesome animal substance unfit for food.

A state inspector general is appointed, but the office has been a farce for years. The only inspection is by the city inspector of beef and pork. The ordinances of the City of Providence provide that the City Council at the annual election of officers shall appoint one inspector of beef and pork, who must give a bond for \$1,000. His duties require him to visit "from time to time and at frequent intervals all places within the city limits where fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, or other provisions, liable to become diseased or unwholesome, shall be exposed for sale." If in his opinion necessary, he may seize and destroy or dispose of, otherwise than as food, any poor article. One hour after seizure he is to treat such provision with kerosene oil or other substance to make it unfit for food. A record of each seizure is kept and a report made to the chief of police. The inspector is to act on notice from the State Board of Health, the Superintendent of Health, the City Physician, Mayor or City Council. In general he is under the direction of the City Superintendent of Health. His salary is paid by the city.

Whatever inspection of shipments is made, is by the local inspector. Some of the meat from western cities is received without the tag of the government inspector. The inspector visits stores, store houses, cold storage plants, etc., at irregular intervals and hours. All suspicious food is examined and, if condemned, is removed at once. Packages are opened if necessary. Refrigerators and cellars are entered. The work of the present local inspector is thorough, persistent and beneficial. Ready support is given by all the better class of dealers. The chief trouble is with the non-English speaking dealers.

The thoroughness of the inspection of the markets of the City of Providence is shown in the number of the visits of the inspector and the quantity of provisions condemned. In 1904 the number of calls was 2,930 and in 1905, 2,750. In 1904 meat and fish were condemned to the amount of over 16,000 pounds. In 1905 the amount condemned was less by one-half—due to co-operation of the dealers, cooler summer and more persistent inspection.

The destination of condemned meats and animals is the several rendering plants. These plants turn out fertilizers, fats and bones. During 1905 the State Board of Health killed 728 animals, including 668 cows. The number killed is between two and three percent of the total in the state. When animals are killed by the State Board, a sliding scale of compensation is used in paying the owner.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES

Alexander, De Alva S. *A Political History of the State of New York.* 2 vols. Pp. viii, 404 and vi, 444. Price, \$5.00. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Analytical Index, vol. xxxi. *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1846. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Anonymous. *A Practical Program for Working Men.* Pp. xiii + 227. Price, \$1.00. London: Swan Sonnenchein & Co., 1906. Imported by Scribners.

The author, an American or an Englishman who lived in America when he wrote seeks to show that the "voter has (not) yet fully awakened to the essential principles that should animate political progress." Co-operation must supplant competition. As a theoretical discussion the book has some merit. It is pretty weak as a practical program.

Blair and Robertson, Edited by. *The Philippine Islands.* Vols. 42-45. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Brown, William Horace. *The Glory Seekers.* Pp. xi + 347. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1906.

In this volume the author sketches the lives of some of those little known adventurers who sought to realize dreams of empire in the southwestern part of America. Few people today have any conception of the way Texas and the great regions thereabouts fired the imaginations of ambitious spirits of earlier days. Plenty of material for romance and fiction is here to be found. The book is well done and is interesting. Sixteen portraits help to make it more real.

Cotton, J. P., Jr., Ed. *The Constitutional Decisions of John Marshall.* 2 vols. Pp. xxxvi, 462 and viii, 464. Price, \$5.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Dyer, Henry, C. E., M. A., D. Sc. Emeritus Professor, Imperial University of Tokio, etc. *DAI NIPPON: A Study in National Evolution.* Pp. xvi, 450. Price, \$3.50. London: Blackie & Son, Limited. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1905.

This book contains a social study of Japan from the point of view of an engineer who spent ten years in Japan, and to whom Japan very greatly owes her well-organized system of engineering education. From beginning to end, the progressive power of the engineer is kept in view. He says of his friends in Japan: "They see that the engineer is the real revolutionist; for his work changes social and economic conditions and brings forces into action which are more powerful than anything which can be done by mere legislation."

The author states that his purpose has "not been to give a history of modern Japan or detailed statistics of recent developments . . . it has rather been to indicate the forces which have been at work in bringing about what is admitted to be the wonder of the latter half of the nineteenth century; namely, the rise of Japan as a member of the comity of nations, and to note some of the chief results."

As preparatory to his discussion, Mr. Dyer describes the work of the Imperial College of Engineering. He then discusses the fall of feudalism in Japan, the Japanese mind, the transition, education in old and new Japan, the army and navy, means of communication, industrial developments, art industries, commerce, the food supply, colonization and emigration, constitutional government, administration, finance, international relations, foreign politics and social results. The book closes with an outlook upon the future of Japan, and a supplementary statement of recent events. There are also short appendices (one bibliographical) and a brief index. He makes special mention of Captain Brinkley's work on China and Japan, and considers valuable for reference the files of the daily newspapers published in English in Japan, particularly the *Japan Daily Mail*, and the *Japan Times*.

The book is interesting, modern, and very thoughtful; having the outlook of a man of scientific training, who is yet conscious of the deeper currents of individual and racial life. He states the problem of the future thus: "How best to take full advantage of all that is good in Western civilization while retaining the special characteristics of Japan and bringing them into organic harmony with those of other nations."

Fairlie, J. A. *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages.* Pp. xii, 289. Price, \$1.25. New York: Century Co., 1906.
Reserved for later notice.

Fleming, W. L., Edited by. *Documentary History of Reconstruction, Political, Military, Social, Educational, and Industrial.* Two volumes. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Hall, Prescott F. *Immigration and its Effects upon the United States.* Pp. xiv, 393. Price \$1.50, net. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.
See "Book Reviews."

Hildt, J. C. *Early Diplomatic Negotiations in the United States with Russia.* Pp. 195. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. xxiv, Nos. 5 and 6.

Hishida, S. G. *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power.* Pp. 284. New York: Columbia University Press, 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Hollander, J. H., and, Barnett, G. E. *Studies in American Trade Unionism.* Pp. vi, 380. Price, \$2.75, net. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Jones, C. L. *The Consular Service of the United States.* Pp. x, 126. Series in Political Economy and Public Law, University of Pennsylvania.

Reserved for later notice.

Leacock, Stephen. *Elements of Political Science.* Pp. ix, 417. Price, \$1.75. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Lloyd, H. D. *Man, the Social Creator.* Pp. vi, 279. Price, \$2.00. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Merriam, G. S. *The Negro and the Nation.* Pp. iv, 436. Price, \$1.75, net. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Morga. *History of the Philippine Islands.* Two volumes. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Morton, James F. *The Curse of Race Prejudice.* Pp. 78. Price, \$0.25. New York: By the author—244 West 143 st., 1906.

Expanded from a lecture originally given at the Alhambra Theater, the pamphlet is a strong protest against race prejudice wherever found. Naturally his illustrations, which are very numerous, are drawn from our own American life. It is written in popular form and will interest and influence those whose minds are not so made up as regards the superiority of some races over others that reasoning is impossible.

New South Wales. *Official Year Book, 1904-5.* Sydney: W. A. Gulick, 1906.

Pierce, J. O. *Studies in Constitutional History.* Pp. viii, 330. Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Preissig, Edward. *Notes on the History and Political Institutions of the Old World.* Pp. lx, 719. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.

The author has prepared a text book of rather unusual scope which promises to be of considerable value. It is in no sense an original study but is based upon works of others. In the bibliography of "works used in compiling the notes" only titles of books in English are given, which would seem to indicate that the great historians of Germany and the rest of Europe

were ignored. A short outline is given of the history of the various nations from Egypt, Chaldea, Greece and Rome down to all modern European nations. China is included among the nations of ancient times, but the author's treatment of modern China is too brief to amount to anything. Ten good maps accompany the text.

Raper, C. L. *Principles of Wealth and Welfare*. Pp. xii, 336. Price, \$1.10. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

This book is an elementary exposition of economics for use in high schools. One suffers no disappointment, therefore, in finding that a small volume so designed contains little that is new save the language, illustrations, and order of treatment.

The author seems to regard economics as the science of means to an end,—the means being wealth and the end, welfare; though, of course he is careful to point out that there are also other means to the same end. There are three main divisions—wants (consumption), which give rise to efforts (production), which are recompensed by the returns (distribution), that satisfy wants. Under the head of production the author describes at greater length than is usual the different groups of producers, thus emphasizing in a striking manner the fact that commerce and transportation together with governmental activities are productive in an economic sense along with farming, mining, and manufacturing. In explaining the distribution of wealth the productivity theory is employed.

It appears to the reviewer that the author fails to put in a clear light the principle of decreasing returns in relation to land (pp. 87, 88). His first illustration is certainly a case of soil deterioration under exploitative methods of culture rather than a case of decreasing returns as that phrase is commonly used in economics. The deterioration of the soil has no relation to the principle of decreasing returns. In fact successive periods of time are no necessary part of the concept, and in case such periods of time enter into any illustration of the concept (as they so often do, to the confusion of the pupil) care needs to be taken to emphasize the fact that the principle has reference to the net and not to the gross products,—that is to say, it refers to the products left over after any soil depletion has been restored.

The best part of this volume is found in its descriptions, as description is ordinarily understood; however, in the higher realm of description, where description resumes under the briefest formulæ the widest range of facts, the work is not strong. It is next to impossible to write a satisfactory text for beginners, as for others, in so difficult a field as economics. It is too much to say that Professor Raper has thoroughly succeeded in doing the impossible. However it is not too much to say that he has written a text that may serve the useful function of introducing the great problems of our industrial life to high school students, many of whom are destined never to get the more advanced economic training that is so much needed as a preparation for intelligent citizenship.

Sakolski, A. M. *The Finances of American Trade Unions.* Pp. 152. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, vol. xxiv, Nos. 3 and 4.

Sonneberg, Walter. *Social Eccentricities.* Pp. 54. New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1906.

Spargo, John. *Socialism.* Pp. xvi, 257. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Thwaites, R. G., Edited by. *Travels in Great Western Prairies; Oregon Missions; and Travels Over the Rockies.* Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Williams, J. M. *An American Town—A Sociological Study.* Pp. 251. New York: James Kempster Printing Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

REVIEWS.

The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. ix, Napoleon. Pp. xxviii, 946. Price, \$4.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

This volume of the Cambridge Modern History very properly, indeed one might say inevitably, bears the name of the man who by his single personality and genius completely dominated the years it treats. Not even a Cæsar, a Charlemagne, or a Louis XIV., was so entirely the architect of his fortunes or the prince-creator of his power throughout so vast a region, as was the little Corsican upstart. These are sentiments expressed by the editors with which students of history will in the main agree, and we have a right therefore to expect in this volume that unity which the character and continuity of the great Napoleonic tragedy stamp upon the period.

The volume falls into twenty-four chapters contributed by sixteen authors, of whom five are foreigners. The subject-matter includes the history from the beginning of the Consulate in 1799 to the close of the exile at St. Helena. From this it is apparent that this volume is not intended to cover all the career of Napoleon. The early life and the particular circumstances underlying his rise are treated in the volume on the French Revolution; likewise the brilliant campaigns in Italy and Egypt, the overthrow of the Directory and Bonaparte's usurpation fall outside the limits of the present volume. On the other hand that great diplomatic prologue to the international history of the nineteenth century, the Congress of Vienna, in which the nations of Europe for the first time met to settle the troublesome affairs of international politics by peaceful deliberations, and laid the basis for the political conditions of Europe for decades, is included.

It requires no demonstration therefore to show that the title of the volume is misleading and inaccurate. The editors would have done well if

they had adopted the latter half of the title of Mr. Rose's well known little volume, and called the work "The Napoleonic Era." This title would correspond precisely with the scope and significance of the volume, and avoid the deception incident in a field where biographies are so numerous.

The work of the contributors is of a high order of merit. In such cases as John Holland Rose, Von Pflugk-Hartung, and Professors Pariset and Guiland the names are in themselves a guarantee of excellence, but the general level of historical writing is well maintained. About a third of the space is devoted to what might be called the domestic affairs of the Empire, to matters pertaining to the administration and institutions of the imperial régime. Among these Professor Pariset's two chapters on The Consulate, and France under the Empire, and Professor Guiland on France and her Tributaries are conspicuous. Another third deals with the wars, and the remainder with the international relations of the period. In the latter are the two excellent chapters already alluded to, by the senior editor, Mr. Ward, on the Congress of Vienna, and two rather extraneous chapters, considering the title of the volume, one on Great Britain and Ireland, 1792-1815, and the other on the British Empire, 1783-1815. In the latter which is the joint work of Rev. W. H. Hutton and Professor H. E. Egerton, four out of the forty-six pages deal with Napoleon.

The chapter on St. Helena by H. D. L. Fisher, the student of the statesmen of the Napoleonic period, deserves commendation. After all that has been written in recent years on the "Last Phase," the temptation to review again the various points in controversy must have been strong. Mr. Fisher has wisely avoided this and after making a brief, straightforward narrative statement of the relations of the imperial prisoner and the English, devotes the bulk of the space to the significance of the captivity, the character and importance of the memoirs and correspondence, and Napoleon's objects and motives for their dictation. For, as Mr. Fisher well says, the Napoleonic legend has been an influential force in the politics of Europe; and the legend owes much to the artifices of the exile. The contributions of Mr. Rose on the Empire at its Height, and on the Continental System are illuminating, especially the latter. In view of the fact that so little of value has been written on this subject in English, and, if we except Lumbrosa's *Napoleone I e l' Inghilterra*, in any language, the chapter assumes a particular significance. Space does not permit an analysis, but the exposition of the damaging effect of Napoleon's artificial trade regulations on the continental seaports merits special mention. The facts in regard to Hamburg, taken largely from Hitzgrath, illustrate the nature of the calamity wrought by Napoleon's boomerang. In 1811 "300 ships lay dismantled in the harbour; out of 428 sugar refineries, only one remained at work; and all the cotton-printing works were closed. . . . All the conditions which clog the operation of trade reigned supreme in Hamburg. The extortions of the conquerors completed its misery. . . . The fate of the great free city was one of unequalled severity, but everywhere throughout Germany the Continental System produced feelings of exasperation and fear which

had no small share in bringing about the War of Liberation." The wide ramifications of Napoleon's international policy appear in the other chapter by Mr. Rose, though it is pushing the case a little far to declare "that the Spanish rising saved Prussia from virtual extinction and the Turkish Empire from partition." Very interesting, too, just at this time, is the account of Russia's acquisition of Finland, announced first by Alexander I. as a conquest by the sword, but, because of the objections and brave resistance of the Finns, modified completely before the end of 1808 by the promulgation of the Act of Guarantee securing their liberties. Thus even before the action of the Congress of Vienna, Russia herself, by a solemn agreement, promised to respect the ancient privileges and rights of the duchy.

The treatment of that great episode in the history of Germany, the war of liberation, by the eminent scholar, Julius von Pflugk-Hartung, is disappointing because the author, either from preference or the exigencies of the plan of the volume, devotes himself too exclusively to military matters. This is all the more to be regretted because of the writer's manifest grasp of the larger phases of the subject, as evidenced in the paragraph on page 509, beginning, "This time, however, it was a question not of kings and officials, but of the soul of a people," and the fact that such an important factor as the new patriotic literature receives but a passing notice on page 335. Professor Stschepkin's account of Russia under Alexander I. and the campaign of 1812 is more readable, but suffers from a similar tendency. It is, however, pervaded by the great issues at stake; the fate of half a million men—"the grand army which bore within itself the seeds of dissolution"—the hopes of the Poles, and the fears of Russia and Europe, give a larger aspect to the details of the campaign. "The part which destiny had assigned him (Napoleon) was played out," "neither the Russian frost nor the National Rising, but his own strategic blunders, caused his downfall."

The chapters by Professor Pariset on the internal conditions of France for these years possess that perspicacity peculiar to French scholarship, and afford very instructive reading. His treatment of the institutions of the Empire, concluded by the following sentence, will receive careful reading by all students of the period: "The nobility, the University, the Continental System, and the Church, transformed into the handmaid of the State—these were the four basic columns on which the fabric of the Empire reposed." On the other hand, the paragraph of names and dates on page 133, in connection with the author's discussion of the scientific movement of the period, strongly reminds one that this is a work not for consecutive reading, but rather for reference.

The bibliographies are arranged for the topics treated in the different divisions of the work. In the list of "Later Biographical Works," Bourne's English edition of Fournier, Napoleon I. should be cited with the German. No effort is made at a critical estimate either of secondary works or of source material. A commendable departure is found in the survey of the

"Manuscript sources on the Consulate and the Empire existing at Paris," by Charles Schmidt, in the paragraphs giving a general sketch of the published and unpublished documents on "The War of 1809," and Mr. Ward's comments on the accessibility of the archives for the period, especially for 1815.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania.

Duniway, C. A. *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts.* Pp. xvi, 202.

Price, \$1.50. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

This new volume in the "Harvard Historical Studies" is a careful account of the development of law and administrative procedure in Massachusetts in reference to the press. It is a work for a small field which it is to be hoped may some time be extended to cover all the States of the Union and for a period bringing us down to this present day of grace. Some of the difficulties of the task are made the subject of intimations in Mr. Duniway's preface, but they should not be insuperable and whoever will stop to make the study is certain to find it a fruitful one. A time will come when we shall discover the need of devoting sufficient care and attention to this great ill defined, misdirected thing we call journalism at least to write its history. We may do no more toward making its rules, customs and privileges an exact body of knowledge but this will be much, and he who reads and ponders it will be better for the very responsible tasks of editing and publishing newspapers.

Dr. Duniway has stepped aside for no theorizing. He says that his essay is an extended doctor's thesis and it bears the characteristic impress of the hand of the young docent, although we know that his later observations and experiences equip him for work of a more broadly useful kind. The early Puritan restrictions upon the press in Massachusetts are not so very different from those exercised in Pennsylvania by the Quaker theocracy, and other of the original states will furnish similar cases. How much wiser than our sires we have become at this day it would be very rash to guess and what are the advantages which have accrued to this American people by their policy towards the press can be stated in pleasant terms only in our moments of optimism. Perhaps it is quite proper that we should give the newspaper publisher all the power which he assumes and so jealously holds fast to, when his liberties are threatened, through all the powerful agencies at his hand. It is certain, however, and the most casual student knows it, that the newspaper and the business of publishing it have wholly changed in a century. While at the time our laws were made it was open to practically every person to print a paper, just as he could talk to his friends, or address a public meeting, in these days of costly typesetting machines, news agency monopolies and the like it is a money making business for the Jews and other capitalists, or if it have philanthropy of any kind in it an indulgence only for the very rich. From a small sheet, meant primarily to influence political opinion, it has become a great book of sheets, illustrated, "headlined" and departmentalized. It purports to tell us what the world is doing and when it succeeds

in being a truthful relator of happenings it is principally a disquieting crime and suicide instigating record of the world's errors and mistakes. Such a press is not the press which the ancestors of our English speaking peoples struggled to make free. It is a very different thing. In what way it might be improved by the government it is difficult to see. We only know that it is a unit in assailing such movements whenever they are attempted as in Pennsylvania, where changes in no manner essential to any well intentioned publisher were made recently in the libel laws. Having protested against this action with unreasoning vehemence the newspapers proceed to evade the new rules imposed upon them by the state and there is no power to compel such lawbreakers. The obvious way to treat such a press if you wish anything good to come out of it is to adopt Jay Cooke's plan during the Civil war—buy it outright. Each year this tends to become a larger and larger task, but in all seriousness no multi-millionaire philanthropist who has secure hold of his hoard and has only one remaining task—to use it in making easier his journey through the Celestial Gates, could do a better thing than to endow one good, honest, truth-loving, reputation-respecting newspaper which would print morning and evening editions in each large American city.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

Philadelphia.

Hall, Prescott F. *Immigration.* Pp. xiii + 393. Price, \$1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

Under the editorship of Mr. R. C. Ringwalt it is planned to publish a series of volumes dealing with present American problems. Mr. Ringwalt himself prepared a very valuable book not long ago, "Briefs on Public Questions." The present volume is the first of the series.

The author, for many years secretary of the Immigration Restriction League of Boston, has been prominent in discussions of this topic and has been in a position to get at the facts. He would not stop all immigration in spite of the evils he sees but would greatly restrict it and on the whole thinks the literacy test the best. So much for his general position.

The volume is divided into four parts. Part I—88 pages—is devoted to the history of immigration into the U. S., the causes, economic and social. Part II—91 pages—The Effects of Immigration. Part III—119 pages—Immigration. Part IV—12 pages—Chinese Immigration—with 35 pages of appendices containing statistical tables, resolutions of the National Immigration Conference, United States Immigration Laws, bibliography and index.

Mr. Hall desires that this volume be considered an unbiased study of a great problem. In spite of evident effort to fairly state all sides of the questions discussed he overemphasizes, unconsciously perhaps, the unfavorable element. He has been a propagandist too long. Like all propagandists he occasionally makes big statements and fails to produce the evidence. Thus on page 33 in discussing the causes of immigration he writes: "One of the most important causes, however, and one very little noticed, is the protective tariff." To this "important cause" he devotes ten lines only

of argument but offers no proof. In the following paragraph he asserts that new machinery has lowered the grade of immigrants—again no evidence. In discussing the “racial conditions” thirty pages are given to snap judgments of the different peoples coming here. *Armenians*: “On the whole they are not desirable immigrants.” *French Canadians*: “They fail to educate their children and they lower the average of intelligence and morality.” *English*: “The class of inferior immigrants tends to increase.” “The French immigrants are in every way desirable additions.” “The German immigrants are thrifty and industrious.” The author favors the Finns, but is very doubtful about the Greeks and Jews. *Irish*: “On the whole they have been essentially mediocre.” *Italians*, “unless they can be induced to go into the country districts, to adopt the idea of permanent settlement, and to bring over families or intermarry here, it is to be feared that the second and third generations will contribute a large number of defectives and delinquents.” To me this chapter appears as of very doubtful value. Much space cannot be here devoted to a criticism of the author’s conclusions. He presents a great amount of very valuable information: the points he discusses are of importance, but the evidence is often lacking to justify his views. If he believes that immigration is to have such disastrous racial, economic and social effects he should immediately advocate the stopping of all immigration. There is no evidence to show that “the criminality of the native element tends to diminish.” To sum up, the volume teems with loose generalizations which are either *ex cathedra* statements or depend upon statistical evidence often open to great criticism.

In the chapter dealing with the History of Immigration Legislation the author fails to show how the legislation of New York and Massachusetts became the basis of the Federal Legislation. The author discusses in detail the effects of the present laws and the proposed new legislation.

The volume under review is the most comprehensive book on the subject of the last decade. It discusses practically all of the questions which have arisen and of the suggestions made for avoiding the dangers. It deserves careful attention in spite of its very serious defects. The bibliography is brief but well classified.

University of Pennsylvania.

CARL KELSEY.

Hishida, Seiji G. *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power.*

Pp. 289. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1905.

This book is the third part of volume 24 of the Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. It traces “Japan’s historic policy in dealing with foreign nations” in order to demonstrate that her entrance into the “family of nations” does not constitute a “peril” to either Eastern or Western civilization. The question is approached in a logical and systematic order. First, the character of international society in general is discussed. Then come in sequence chapters on the International Society of Ancient Asia, Dreams of Universal Empire, The First Intercourse of Japan with the European Nations, Reopening of the Sealed Japan, Japan’s Entry into the

Comity of Nations, Modern International Relations of Japan with Asiatic Nations, The Far Eastern Question.

This work forms a valuable addition to the political literature of the day. Most books on the Far East, written by persons whose point of view is exclusively Occidental, must be approached with suspicion. The West cannot assimilate the Japanese as completely as have the Japanese the West. It is as an interpretation of the Far Eastern situation by a Japanese who has taken the trouble to understand European and American ideas that we must consider this book. Its scope is international, yet it throws many side lights upon the history of political theories in the East which the student can find elsewhere only with great labor. Even so notable a work as Dunning's *History of Political Theories* is confined exclusively to the philosophy of the European Aryan peoples. This is because the legal, ethical and theological ideas of the Orient are so difficult to separate from the purely political. This volume on Japan is incidentally a contribution to the work of disentanglement. At least it should lead to a realization that, though with tardy growth, the spirit of nationalism is and has been taking form in the East, and that with this growth has come in Eastern thought a partial separation of the political from the ethical and religious. The time has come when the student of political science can no longer disregard the political theories of the East.

Historically there are many parallels between the development of international society in the East and in the West. The national state could not have its birth until the dream of universal empire had been dissipated by the repeated failures of ambitious Asiatic leaders. Ideas of national sovereignty then became prominent, and save where affected by the "white peril" had their natural growth. Japan, more apt than her neighbors has learned the lessons of the West, and has become the dominant power of the Orient. Two incidents of her rise were two wars, one with an Eastern and the other with a Western power. As a result she now occupies a position in the East somewhat analogous to that held by the United States among the Americas. The United States cannot therefore consider the conclusion of Japan ill-founded that Russia not Japan is the "peril" in the East.

The practical conclusion of the book is that in her relations with both Eastern and Western nations Japan has shown herself to be able and ready to advance the civilization of the world. The policy of Japan is stated as follows: "It is the desire of Japan to preserve in the Orient the national status of those of her sister Asiatic nations which are not yet subjugated by foreign powers, and to lead them to that light of western civilization which she is now enjoying, without having abandoned her national individualism. . . . The Mikado and his statesmen have from time immemorial regarded the peace of the Korean peninsula as an object of vital importance to the welfare of Japan, and the preservation of Korean integrity has become the traditional policy of the Island Empire. For the attainment of this end Japan fought with China in 1894, with Russia in 1904, and will fight at any cost in the future with any power. . . . Though Japan has

often been at enmity with China prior to the war of 1894, yet, when the latter's territorial integrity was threatened by foreign powers, she at once manifested her interest in the preservation of the Celestial empire. . . . So long as China is incapable of maintaining single-handed an independent existence and of withstanding the external pressure of aggressive powers, Japan will not shirk her responsibility, even if called upon for armed assistance, as was demonstrated by the recent war. . . . The civilized nations of the West should have faith in Japan's leadership in helping China, because Japan has not only pledged herself to maintain Chinese territorial integrity and the open-door policy in public documents, but has also fulfilled this pledge in practice." Japan calls upon the nations for recognition as a promotor of the peace of "the world, the progress of humanity, the prosperity of each individual nation, the reconciliation of the East and West."

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, in the August, 1906, number of the *North American Review* concurs in this view in the following words: "It is well that the fact has become recognized in Europe and in the United States that Japan means to be, and is to be, the dominant factor in the Far East, and that any commercial or other advantages in the distant Orient, which Europe and America desire to secure, can be obtained only by the same legitimate methods these nations employ in their dealings with each other. The recognition of this existing situation, which has become so thoroughly accentuated through the result of the Russo-Japanese War, is certain to make for lasting peace in the Far East."

Mr. Hishida's work is a thoroughly creditable performance. Were it not for the fact that it lacks an index it would serve as a compact reference book on the international history of Japan, China and Korea. No modern book, whether part of a series or not, should be separately issued without an index. The authorities are, however, given throughout, and the appendix contains a bibliography. The reader would appreciate it if a good map were contained in the book. A typographical error appears on page 183, where in the paragraph heading, "Spain" is printed instead of "Siam." Without detracting from the serious character of the work, there is occasionally a touch of imagery perhaps suggestive of Japanese methods of thought as shown in their works of art, poetry, etc. An example is the following (p. 60): "The Mongol Tartar, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, was surging from the grassy plains of Manchuria over the Asiatic and even the European continents; and the wave flung its last drops of spray over Japan."

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FREDERICK C. HICKS.

Merriam, George S. *The Negro and the Nation: A History of American Slavery and Emancipation.* Pp. iv, 436. Price, \$1.75, net. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906.

The book is without preface. Much of its ground had been covered by the author, twenty years earlier, in his *Life and Times of Samuel Bowles*. Up to the reconstruction period, the narrative scarcely exceeds in space

that given to the same topics in that former work, while dependence is evident down to chapter headings and phraseology, and historical judgments are substantially unchanged.

The new material is of two sorts: first a group of some dozen picturesque and generally fair, if somewhat wordy, character sketches of the chief leaders of the slavery struggle. For these the author is frankly indebted to others, e. g., for Calhoun to Von Holst, (corrupted into Van Holst on p. 75), for Clay to Schurz. The other new element is an attempt to formulate the "underlying forces" and to define their relations at critical points. But vaguely distinguished are the respective roles of personalities and impersonal forces. The general argument is that the Fathers uniformly regarded slavery as wrong and temporary; that the cotton-gin fastened it upon the south as a seeming economic necessity; that the increasing anti-slavery conscience of the north was not due to superior righteousness, but to absence of contrary motive; that, with Calhoun, the south began to justify in theory what it practiced for gain; that neither sting of irritating misunderstanding nor alleged northern oppression, can excuse this; that secession was an act of passion illustrating the moral effect of slavery upon the master. With these deep persuasions goes a surprising intellectual appreciation for, and accurate interpretation of the southern position. "Slavery as it was" is presented from the combined view-points of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Dabney's biography, Fanny Kemble's journal, Olmsted's travels, Helper's *Impending Crisis* and Stroud's *Slave Laws*, and illumined by considerable quotations.

The treatment of reconstruction is at once the freshest and most systematic part of the book. It was morally impossible, the author holds, in the face of the Black Codes, to allow reconstruction without Federal intervention on behalf of the freedman. The Civil Rights bill was wise, but the disqualification of ex-confederate leaders from citizenship a blunder. With the prevailing view of suffrage as a natural human right, its unlimited extension to the negro was better than any alternative seriously supported, however much one may wish that still other alternatives had been. The detailed rights and wrongs of the reconstruction struggle in the several states are given up as past sifting. Undoubtedly the carpet-bag governments were defective, but they were not so exclusively alien as is commonly represented, and their extravagance and corruption has been much overstated. The gravitation of the south to white control was inevitable, upon the withdrawal of Federal troops, and not undesirable. In contrast with reconstruction, "regeneration" is the motto of an eloquent, if somewhat inconsequent, section on Armstrong and the Hampton idea of education.

Three final chapters summarize the evolution and present arrangement of forces in the south. On the part of the whites are the reassumption of political control, the acceptance of responsibility for negro education, the development of the dogma of social inequality and the shibboleth of racial purity. Under these limitations, the negro has made hopeful progress, economic, educational and moral. The reactions of a worse spirit are seen in the unfair administration of suffrage-limitations, occasional anti-educational sentiment, the narrowing industrial opportunity of the negro and physical

outrages upon him. Hopeful omens are that the economic forces which seemed for slavery are against race prejudice, the still considerable industrial freedom of the negro in the south, the educational reforms which mean better things for both races, and the fact that a limited suffrage will be a stimulus to attainment, if administered in good faith.

Of specific issues, the author thinks the proposed reduction of southern representation in congress constitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment, but having nothing else in its favor; he urges a Federal grant for southern education, and advises the recognition of individual fitness for social fellowship as the better alternative for the social color-line.

Springfield, Mo.

H. PAUL DOUGLASS.

Meyer, Hugo R. *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain*. Pp. xii, 340. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906.

Professor Meyer of the University of Chicago has not given us much information about the subject covered by the title of his suggestive book, but has devoted the major portion of his space to establish the conclusions that cities should not have even the partial rights in granting and controlling public service corporations accorded in Great Britain, and that franchises of the long period of 42 years conceded in electric light since 1888 are not as good for the people as the far longer or perpetual franchises that obtain in some of our states. Such an onslaught on home rule and short term franchises such as the National Municipal League and nearly all municipal reformers now favor whether believers in municipal ownership or not, is quite staggering. The whole matter is thus summed up in the closing chapter: "The doctrine that the public service industries which use the public streets differ essentially from ordinary trading and manufacturing ventures and that they should be subjected to special limitations and special taxation designed to secure to the public at large a share in their profits, has permanently paralyzed every public service industry to which it has been applied." In establishing this thesis most of the chapters are devoted to an historical review of legislation along these lines in Great Britain and to many comparisons of the greater development of electric light and street railways per capita in America. Although some space is devoted to gas where municipal ownership has prevailed far longer and has had for this and other reasons far better chance on a large scale to show its tendencies in England and Scotland, yet very curiously the author omits all comparisons between per capita sales of gas there and here. Such omission is all the more interesting in view of the larger sales per capita abroad than with us.

The use of electricity in America and its effect on our other industries and on international competition would have been far more effectively treated by one who was trying to show it all to be a result of unlimited, uncontrolled franchises if the German situation had been omitted. On page 198 he says, "The cities of Germany, in part under the influence of the example of British legislation, also adopted the policy of bartering in electric lighting franchises. The result was that German private enterprise was excluded

from the field of public electric lighting while that industry was in the formative period." This taken in conjunction with the rest of the argument would lead one to expect that Germany would be cited as a very backward country electrically, from whom Great Britain has nothing to fear. On page 304, however, we are told "Precisely in so far as Great Britain's supply of cheap electric current is inferior to that of Germany," where be it remembered "German private enterprise is excluded from the field of public electric lighting, just so far is Great Britain handicapped in producing the aforesaid products of industry;" pure copper and aluminum, caustic soda, bleaching powder and electrical apparatus and machinery, "for the purpose of sale in the world's markets. Again, in Germany the belt and shaft are rapidly disappearing from the factories and machine tools, looms, etc., are being driven by separate electric motors. All of these things tell in the struggle between England and Germany in the world's markets."

In this connection it may be suggested that a large part of the electric power used in American manufacturing establishments is not at all derived from public service corporations, but is generated directly by the users.

Much is made of the graded tramway fares in the municipal plants of Great Britain as the great obstacle to a healthful scattering of the population in suburbs, but there is nowhere a statement that graded fares originated in private ownership and that the whole tendency of city ownership has been to a great enlargement of the zones and reduction of fares, which are big steps in the direction of easier access to the suburbs. Dublin and Bristol are described as showing the advantages today of private street railways, but the fact that they also have graded fares is not mentioned. The habits of the people, the exemption of idle land from taxation and other causes of overcrowding in the English cities are scarcely touched upon.

We are told that through lack of the right to purchase gas works at their structural value at the expiration of a definite term of years cities have been forced to pay large amounts in excess of structural value. In the 77 cases of municipal purchase from 1844 to 1903 where the facts appear to be known the cities according to Professor Meyer paid, in 35 per cent of the cases, from \$150 to \$193 for every \$100 invested, and in 52 per cent of the cases from \$200 to \$272, while on buying out the electric lighting company before the expiration of the franchise Birmingham paid \$2,100,000 for a \$1,095,000 investment in the plant, Liverpool \$2,000,000 for \$1,250,000 and Sheffield \$218 for every \$100 investment.

It would not seem as though private capital had much ground to complain or that the British cities realizing the large possibilities in electricity, are to be blamed for having Parliament so word grants to private electric light and tramway companies as to render purchase possible on the basis of structural values at the end of 21 or 42 years.

Professor Meyer, however, has undoubtedly struck the weakest point in all limited franchises when he holds that any restriction on a private company may lessen the flow of capital into it, yet he surely would have government surround it with the greatest restriction conceivable, namely,

prohibit rival companies entering the field. If he would not do this, a practical monopoly would any way soon result after considerable duplication of plant and over capitalization. If the government either created the monopoly or left it to create itself and undertook no regulation more than in private business and provided for no method of city purchase within the life of the existing generation at the structural value or at a small advance above such value, it is probable that in some cases, as Professor Meyer believes, there would be greater enterprise and development than with any sort of regulation. In other cases a company secure of a monopoly would become unprogressive, but the possibilities of high charges and of monopoly profit on the part of such an unregulated public service industry are so much impressed upon our people that the only practical question before us is efficient regulation or ownership. In the solution of this we get little help from our author. The effect of municipal ownership in improving wages, hours of labor, etc., is hardly mentioned. The immediate financial profits of municipal ownership appear to be conceded. We are told that in 1898-9 "all but forty-eight of the 222 municipal gas plants of the United Kingdom paid the interest and sinking fund payments properly chargeable against them," and that the average receipts and consequently the charges were only six-sevenths as much per thousand feet as by the private companies, although this better showing may be due, it is suggested, to the municipal plants serving more populous centres. The difference, however, in average size is not great.

In electric light and street railways it is not claimed that private ownership in Great Britain has proved as profitable to the community as has municipal ownership, although it is contended by Professor Meyer and probably with truth, that outside of gas private management has been more handicapped than municipal ownership by franchises of twenty-one to forty-two years.

One of the advantages always claimed by the friends of municipal ownership is that it can count on perpetual life. The public does not dare to give this advantage any more to private ownership. What this work, interesting to all students of the problem, has really accomplished is to trace the history of British legislation, show its recent conscious trend toward municipal ownership and point out the much more rapid development of street railways and electric lighting in America; but unfortunately without reference to the political evils that have attended it, and without explaining the large development of electrical industries in Germany, under even greater safeguarding of franchises than in England.

An equally interesting book might be written on the greater development of sewing machines, elevators, typewriters, farm machinery, etc., in America than in Europe, though in those cases public regulation and ownership were equally absent on both continents.

But however much one may differ from the conclusions reached in this book, every student of the subject must feel indebted to the author for the clear summary and quotation which he has given of the opposing arguments urged at each stage of legislation and the changes that were made

from time to time in the laws and their execution, and for his interesting statistical comparisons between English and American developments. Unfortunately the many quotations from parliamentary and other reports and addresses are chiefly drawn from only one side of the controversy and could easily have been matched by equally weighty official statements and reports on the other side.

Cleveland, Ohio.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Michels, R. *Patriotismus und Ethik: Eine kritische Skizze.* Pp. 32. Price, 50 pf. Leipsic: Felix Dietrich, 1906.

Samuel Johnson's famous definition of patriotism might have served as motto for Robert Michels' *Patriotismus und Ethik*. From the point of view of a German socialist the writer subjects to a most brilliant and merciless criticism various current ideas of patriotism and fatherland. Whether the latter be conceived as place of birth and early training, as the seat of one's race, as the source of one's subsistence, as a community of interest within political limits, or simply as the state of which one is a citizen, Michels succeeds in showing that fatal absurdities and inequalities must result. To him class standards and not international boundaries are the real social line of cleavage in the modern world. Many readers, particularly on this side of the Atlantic, will not find it easy to agree with his statement that the sole factors which have formed the fatherland-state are force, war, and dynastic marriages. Nevertheless with some rearrangement and with certain citations of new material much of Michels' criticism of ordinary sentimental patriotism would be as valid applied to American as to German conditions. In concluding his study our author expresses the opinion that an ethical basis for patriotism may be found in national civilization, "not the enforced civilization of savages by means of brandy and the Bible, but rather civilization as the basis of the progress of humanity on its path to the realization of the greatest possible physical and intellectual welfare, physical and intellectual capacity for enjoyment, the greatest possible earthly welfare." This is altogether beautiful, and largely commendable, doubtless, yet if subjected to the same logical process that our author himself applies to other concepts it could readily be resolved into thin air. Reacting from extreme to extreme one is tempted to recall in this connection Senator Conkling's famous *mot* to the effect that when Doctor Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel he forgot the infinite possibilities that lurk within the word reform.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT C. BROOKS.

Warne, Frank Julian. *The Coal Mine Workers, a Study in Labor Organizations.* Pp. x, 251. Price, \$1.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Few people who glibly discuss the trade union have any actual knowledge of its manner of working, or its actual purposes. The unions are often much abused and misunderstood institutions, possessing the same virtues and shortcomings as other political and commercial organizations. Dr. Warne has

done a valuable service in placing in compact and readable form a study of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the strongest labor unions in the world. This book treats in an impartial manner the history, development, and growth of organization among the coal mine workers; the relation of the union to the business of coal mining; and the influence of the union upon its members.

The constitution and machinery of the trade union are discussed, showing that its principles are established in "right and justice," but that the placing of so much power in the hands of the leaders, as strikes have necessitated, makes everything depend upon their character. A brief and sympathetic sketch of John Mitchell and his work gives evidence of the wise choice of the United Mine Workers. The large amounts of money handled, and the heavy interests involved have caused this trade union to become in fact a great business, where success depends upon close observance of market conditions and the obeying of laws governing these conditions.

A large part of the book is given to a description of the working of the Interstate Joint Conference and the State Conferences, which are satisfactory examples of bargaining between trade unions and operators, making for stability in business. The basis of these conferences, the agreements or contracts entered into as well as the machinery which brings them into existence, are facts well worth knowing. This is followed by an outline of the work of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation which has temporarily aided in settling vexed questions in the eastern sections.

The chapter on the strike is written in a fair and impartial spirit. Explanation is given of the various forms of pressure resorted to and the reason for them. All strikes of miners from 1898 to 1904 were for increase of wage; since then against reduction. The extent to which prices and conditions are affected by the competition between different coal regions is indicated in the history of the growth of the union, and the institution of strikes.

The book properly ends with a chapter on the trade union as an institution, an institution which has come to stay, which is the most important institution given to society by the labor movement, and which, effecting as it does such vast numbers, deserves a dispassionate understanding of its real meaning. Mr. Warne's previous study of anthracite coal mining conditions in "The Slav Invasion" has given him proofs of his statement that "It is through the operation of the trades union more so than through any other social agency, that the immigrants from many climes and diverse races are sooner brought into close touch with and made to conform to American standards and customs and institutions." The trade union method of protecting wage is likened to the tariff as a protection of American infant industries. The opposition to it is compared to the opposition and distrust of any new movement of reform.

University of Pennsylvania.

E. S. MEADE.

Wise, John S. *A Treatise on American Citizenship*. Pp. viii, 340. N. Y. Edward Thompson Company, 1906.

While this work was intended primarily by the author as a text-book on the law of citizenship, it is very evident from his preface that he hopes to appeal to many readers outside of the legal profession. Citizenship, in his opinion, is a subject which is "an indispensable part of the education of every man who makes pretension to a fair education and knowledge of the history of his country"; and "the present ignorance of our people, and the confusion in their apprehension of this subject would be something incredible in other countries."

Such a work as this is indeed timely, at a point in our history when we are for the first time attempting to govern as subjects remote and alien races. From now on the student of American history, if he is to understand our colonial affairs, must go into the law of citizenship. The author has given an excellent historical treatment of American citizenship, state and national, and a clear statement of the present status of the insular possessions in regard to citizenship. The discussion of how American citizenship may be acquired is too brief and incomplete. Both in this chapter and in the one dealing with the protection of citizens abroad the author could have obtained valuable material and suggestions from Van Dyne's work on this subject. These phases of citizenship are of great practical importance, and their scanty treatment is a serious fault in this work.

Fully a third of the book is devoted to an historical discussion and analysis of the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of the citizen, and it is evident that the author regarded this as the most important part of his subject. His method of treatment here is original, and is the most distinguishing feature of the work. On the historical side he emphasizes our obligations to the Dutch. His attempt at the classification and enumeration of the Rights, Privileges and Immunities granted or guaranteed to citizens by the United States has not been successful or profitable. His point of view in this enumeration is explained in his own words as follows: "These guarantees (of rights) were the necessary correlatives of the specific powers granted to the Federal government." In accordance with this principle he classifies the following as Rights:

To have an enumeration or census every ten years.

To uniform Federal laws of naturalization and bankruptcy throughout the United States.

To the creation and maintenance of a navy by the Federal government.

Many more instances of like character might be cited to illustrate the consequences of his method. It would be interesting to know by just what process a citizen would enforce his right to a census, every ten years, or to a Federal bankruptcy act, or to the creation and maintenance of a navy, in case Congress had not acted upon the powers delegated to it in these matters. Surely a right that cannot be enforced and protected by a court ought not to be called a legal right.

The treatment of the Privileges and Immunities under the war amendments is clear and comprehensive, and deserves special praise.

While Mr. Wise has given us here a useful and valuable work, it must be said that it leaves much to be desired, and that there is still room for a comprehensive text on the law of citizenship.

University of Illinois.

FRANK HAMSHER.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL

BY F. A. CLEVELAND, PH.D.,
New York.

In the eighteenth century theories of democracy were in the nature of protest against government regulation and control; these theories found expression in political and economic doctrines of *laissez faire*. To-day the situation is reversed. Having succeeded in reducing government to forms of political responsibility there has been a gradual increase in the demand for the exercise of federal and state control. A summary statement of the successive steps in this evolution may serve to bring the present situation into clearer light. They appear about as follows:

(1) Government regulation of matters of business by the early establishment of the principle of a protective tariff and by the organization of a federal bank.

(2) The granting of direct aid to commerce and transportation.

(3) Federal regulation and control over the foreign trade and the shipping interest of the East by federal embargo and non-interference Acts, thus forcing New England and its economic institutions into allignment with prevailing national ideals of internal improvement.

(4) Federal interference with the social and economical institutions of the South, compelling a complete industrial reorganization there.

(5) The enactment of laws, state and federal, the motive to which has been the more rapid development of national resources by increased grants of corporate privileges, market monopolies, etc., the net result of which has been to build up great capitalistic and labor combines that latterly have been able directly or indirectly to control practically every branch of business.

Thus, employing agencies of government as a means of giving

direction to investment and private undertaking, the transition from economic individualism, as it existed one hundred years ago, to an economy based on group activity and high centralized administrative control, as it exists to-day, has been rapid. We have reached a state of social and industrial organization in which, from motives of self-interest, nearly all classes combine in making political demands for a still stronger hand on the part of the government in the exercise of control. Capitalists, enjoying franchises and privileges, ask that the integrity of their corporate estates and capitalized incomes may be guaranteed; laborers, having organized for mutual advantage in making contracts with capital for wages, demand that the hours and conditions of labor may be regulated; creditors and investors contend for public inspection and for legislation giving them added facilities for control over corporate agents; beneficiaries of trusts would have a more strict law for institutional trustees; independent civic societies are seeking prohibitive, regulatory, and mandatory legislation with respect to public education, child labor, and other measures for social betterment and looking toward a better adjustment to the new order of things; citizens as a whole, on the grounds of general welfare, urge increased government action prohibiting monopoly, regulating forms of association and providing a more effective means for group control. The phrase "The Trusts" suggests at once a condition of capitalistic organization and private monopoly advantage as well as a subject with respect to which increased powers of government are to be used.

How are these enlarged powers of government to be employed? By what means may we best retain the benefits of broad co-operation and at the same time direct and control group activity for great common good? It is only with respect to the method of accomplishing this end that our recognized political leaders and political platforms are at variance. In matters of legislation, conservatives would "stand pat," claiming adequate remedy in a better enforcement of the present law. Among those less conservative, one national leader would have enacted radical legislation looking toward public regulation of "the Trust" and restricting inheritances. Another would reduce monopoly advantage by the abolition of market constraint and would increase the possibilities of government control by limiting and restricting corporate franchises. Another sees no remedy adequate to cope with centralized capitalistic influence over

interstate public service activities short of government ownership. Still another argues for a socialistic state.

Reasoning from similar conditions on questions of local welfare, measures are proposed for increasing the activities of municipal government among which both the doctrine and the practice of public ownership has been fast gaining ground. With respect to the municipalization of public service activities there are three distinct schools of opinion: The first, and in most cities the predominant group, we may call conservative—clinging to a modified form of the ancient doctrine of *laissez faire* in defense of the present order of things, a second holds that in circumstances where the public welfare demands it, the cities should take over public service enterprises, as has been done in the cases of the subway in New York and the gas works in Philadelphia, for purposes of exercising proprietary control, but for political reasons should not attempt to operate them, a third school insists on both public ownership and operation.

For purposes of proselyting, both argument and illustration are arbitrarily chosen. Each school proceeds from an assumed premise of public welfare. Those opposed to the municipal ownership of public service enterprises point to the prevalence of political graft; to increased patronage; to increased inducement to bribery and electoral corruption; to inevitable political appointments—all of which are opposed to efficiency and economy of service. Those who advocate municipal ownership argue that an increase in functions will increase public interest in government, will carry with it a choice based on fitness that is equal to the new and increased responsibility; that the present inducement to use corporate influence on legislative and judicial bodies will in a large measure be removed; that the public service will be improved because it will be more responsive to public demands; that public charges will be reduced because they will be laid on the basis of cost of operation instead of being laid on the principal of "what the traffic will bear," as is the case when these activities are performed by private corporations. In each case the conclusion reached is an absolute one. The solution offered is regarded as specific—as if there could be no alternative or doubt.

The Question of Success or Failure of Municipal Industry a Conditional One

The fact that success or failure of such enterprise is entirely relative, and that this relation is one which has to do with administrative conditions, seems to have been entirely overlooked in the controversy. Assuming that a municipal industry may be managed with the same economy, efficiency, and fidelity as a private industry, even then the question as to whether the city should embark on a particular enterprise is to be determined by conditions. From the point of view of public welfare the citizen must consider: (1) whether, after including interest charges on capital in the cost of the service, the price to the public of the same service may be materially reduced; (2) assuming that there would be no reduction in charges to the public for service rendered, will the control obtained over the enterprise which may be secured by public ownership be adequate reason for the change?

To state the case conversely: assuming that the actual cost to the private corporation of rendering service (including a fair return on capital) is less than the price charged to the public, then the questions for the citizen to answer before he accepts the conclusion of advocates of public ownership are: (1) Can the enterprise be as economically and efficiently managed under municipal authorities? (2) If it is conceded that it may be as economically and efficiently managed, will the charges for service be materially reduced? (3) In case the price may not be materially reduced, will public ownership render the service more responsive to legitimate public demands and contribute more to the convenience of the city as a whole? If these questions be answered in the negative, then it were better to retain private ownership and operation. But there is still another question that is avoided by this assumption: Is the government so organized and the business of the city so controlled that an economical and efficient administration of the functions may be insisted on and enforced?

In each case presented the question as to whether a city should own, or own and operate, is not to be answered by *a priori* reasoning and arbitrarily, but in relation to two factors: first, what are the conditions precedent to the successful administration, and, sec-

ond, are these conditions present in the city which has under consideration the particular municipal venture?

Conditions Precedent to Successful Ownership and Operation of Enterprises

Considered administratively, the elements of successful management of municipal enterprise are the same as the elements of successful management of private enterprise. In each are the same problems of capital cost, the same problems of construction and equipment, the same questions to be dealt with in operation and maintenance. The differences are not differences in principles of administration, but differences in methods of control and in methods of distribution of benefits. The methods of control over public enterprise relate themselves to political appointment; in private enterprise they relate themselves to personal contracts. In each, however, intelligent control depends on the regular means of obtaining information as to the efficiency of the service and the economy of operation—methods which will also require personal responsibility for results.

Public enterprise is capitalized, maintained, and operated for public gain; private enterprise is capitalized, maintained, and operated for private gain. In public enterprise the distribution of gains to citizens is in the form of a lower price or better service rendered; in the private undertaking gains take the form of surplus and are distributed to the stockholders as dividends. While, therefore, the financial scale by which distribution is measured is a different one, the elements which go to make administration successful and the standards for measuring the quantitative administration results or gains to be distributed are exactly the same, viz: Economy, efficiency, and fidelity of management; in each case administrative questions revolve about these three categories.

If the citizen ask himself the question as to whether his municipality may succeed in the management of a given industry, the answer must depend on whether or not this particular municipality may procure agents who will manage the industry with economy, efficiency, and fidelity, and not on what some other city has accomplished. What assurance have citizens that the proposed undertaking will be so managed? This assurance must lie in the same

principle of government that is applied by the Standard Oil Company or by any well managed business corporation. Some provision must be made not only for procuring a type of intelligence in management competent to exercise the sort of discretion required, but also for a complete and effective means of obtaining information necessary to such discretion in the exercise of administrative control by the officers having the business in hand. There must likewise be provisions made for bringing home to citizens at large the results of management in order that official responsibility may be enforced through the election of a board of aldermen or a chief executive.

The problem of intelligent and efficient municipal ownership and operation of industry is a problem of the same kind as that of intelligent and efficient government. It differs only in this, that in the industries the results of mismanagement or the results of misjudgment are subject to more exact measurement by well-established and well-defined business standards and may be brought into favorable or unfavorable comparison with results obtained through private organizations.

The Problem of Intelligent Control

Analytically the prerequisites of intelligent administrative control may be stated as follows: (1) An organization by means of which managing competence may be secured; (2) a means of obtaining accurately and currently the data necessary to the exercise of intelligent judgment with respect to questions of administration; (3) a means for enforcing individual responsibility in the service.

Managing competence must in a large measure come through experience. To procure a successful and experienced manager, or retain such a manager when developed, and at the same time provide the means whereby the general policy may be made to respond to demands of citizens or stockholders, is the underlying principle of efficiency in corporate organizations. This principle has been regarded as of highest importance in private business, and in its development there has been evolved a highly centralized executive responsibility. With a highly centralized executive those who are competent have been retained as a matter of executive advantage. When, in response to a change in stockholding policy, the chief

executive officer has been removed or supplanted by another, the new president of the company, in his own interest, may retain any and all of the former departmental heads in order that he may avail himself of the best experience in the successful prosecution of the enterprise. Being held to strict account for administrative results, he has not filled the ranks of the company with his own friends, for the reason that such a course would have worked his own destruction. In any large corporation, the president's success must be attained through his subordinates, and being constantly measured by standards of economy and efficiency, certain it is that his reputation for success will not be enhanced by supplanting an old departmental head by some one less competent.

The trend of American municipalities in charter-making has been to follow this principle of private corporate organization. The great defect in municipal administration has not lain in failure to make provision for the exercise of executive powers, but in the lack of means in the hands of a chief executive for determining the economy, efficiency, and fidelity with which operative departments of government are managed. Not having this intelligence and there being no provision made whereby the citizen may hold the chief executive to strict account, the tendency has been to extend political influence beyond the chief executive himself and include the personnel even of industrial department activities within the patronage to be dispensed by the party boss.

Turning now to the second essential, there are two general branches of corporate service by means of which those in responsible administrative positions can keep themselves informed with respect to the doings, economy, efficiency, and fidelity of their subordinates. These two arms of administration are inspection and accounting. When the business has come to be so large that the one at the head may not have immediate contact with its every detail, intelligent management requires that complete and accurate information be regularly brought to the attention of administrative heads through branches of the organized service, *i. e.*, through subordinates. So far as the results may be numerically and financially stated this information may be furnished by means of a well-devised system of administrative accounts and statistics. So far as information has to do with the quality of the materials furnished, with service performed, with the physical condition of properties, with the number of em-

ployees actually in the service of each department, with the attitude of subordinates toward their work, and their fidelity toward the institution in whose service they are employed, the accounts must be supplanted by inspection.

These two branches or arms of administrative control (independent of each other, but each responsible to the executive head) are the means by which the most difficult, complex, and widely extended corporate activities are intelligently directed. Without these two branches of the service effectively organized, large corporations would fall a victim to their own impotence and incapacity. In order that a system of accounts may be adapted to such a controlling purpose, adequate provisions must be made for an accurate record of all the varied details of the business, as well as the collection and summarization of these data about the problems concerning which those in controlling position are required to think. A system of accounts which falls short of this mark does not measure up to administrative needs. Inspection as a branch of control must cover every physical and operative relation, which does not come under the personal scrutiny of the executive, or which, owing to its nature, may not be regularly and promptly reported in the accounts.

Defective Administrative Control in Cities

Administration comprehends two distinct subjects of controlling intelligence: (1) That which pertains to property and funds, and (2) that which pertains to service rendered and operation. In the American municipality great care has been exercised to obtain a strict accounting for funds. Every caution has been drawn around monetary receipts and disbursements, but with this the accounting has practically ended. In but few municipalities (and these within the last few years) has any attempt been made to introduce accounts which will reflect economy, efficiency, and fidelity of management. Few have attempted to keep an account even of properties. In the great cities, like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, there is no way in which the chief executive may inform himself accurately and regularly on questions of current business with respect to the water departments, the cost to the city per kilowatt of electric light manufactured at municipal plants, or the cost of operating other municipal

enterprises. How may he intelligently think about matters of economy and operative efficiency in these departments? How may he know whether the city is charging too little or too much for water? How may he know whether the head of the department is supplying water to certain large users who can afford to be generous toward the city's employees without adequate compensation being made for the same to the city? How may he know if water rents are properly collected if only cash receipts are reported? How may the head of the department himself know whether the pumping or storing is being economically done? Whether adequate provisions are being made to keep the mains and reservoirs in repair. In so far as he has an intelligent basis for administrative control, this comes through inspection and not through operative accounts and statistics. By methods of inspection he may keep the property in running condition, but he may know little or nothing about questions of economy and may obtain only a half view on questions of efficiency. Were private corporations to rely on similar methods of administrative control, they would be as loosely managed and as incompetently manned as are municipal industries.

Certain cities have recently responded to demands for accounts and reports by means of which administrative results may be shown. Some of these, however, are making little or no use of these accounts after they have been introduced. The financial operative results are not being co-ordinated with physical operating facts, the outcome being that the people know little more about the affairs of the city than before such accounts were endorsed. The fact that the operating cost of water is \$3,000,000 per year, gives little information, either to the citizen or to the official, more than might be obtained by the old method, which reported \$5,000,000 per annum had been disbursed by the department. The only difference in the form of statement is that the operation account clearly distinguished current expenses from betterments. But to make \$3,000,000 intelligible, either to the administration or to the citizen, this amount must be divided between the cost of pumping and storage and the cost of distributing; more than this, every division of cost must be interpreted in terms of some standard of judgment such as gallons produced, and, so far as possible, this result must be classified by districts or stations or other operative groups for purposes of showing administrative relations.

If need be, as a part of management and as a means of determining administrative facts to be reported, there should be meters put on the pumping and distributing mains. Some method should be applied for determining whether, and where, there is an excessive wastage; what the amount pumped at each station; what the amount distributed through each main; in whose official district the wastage is large, etc. The administrative bearing of such information does not end with fixing responsibility, but enables the officer in control to think whether the rates charged are adequate, and to efficiently direct the management in the interest of economy. Until some plan is adopted by cities by means of which ordinary intelligence may be exercised in the management of municipal affairs it would be worse than foolish for a city to attempt to manage industry and to compete with private corporations offering to perform public service.

Another consideration which has to do with the enforcement of responsibility: Assuming that adequate method be provided whereby economy, efficiency, and fidelity of service may be established, and that this method may be such that every one in responsible position may be confronted with his own record, it is important to know whether or not executive control may be enforced. It has been noted before that private and public enterprises bear this marked difference: that private employment is by contract; that political employment is usually by election or appointment. This difference has a direct bearing on administrative discipline. To make the municipal problem more complicated, civil service reform measures have been interposed which in some instances practically render responsible heads of departments and the chief executive helpless in the face of a combination of inefficient municipal employees. Not having a method of account by means of which executive and subordinate responsibility may be protected, as well as enforced, the chief of the administration, as well as departmental heads, having no claims on which they may stand before the people other than those of partisan character, the remedy for the spoils of patronage has been sought in measures practically taking away from those in directing position the power of appointment and removal with the necessary disciplining essential to control over the personnel of subordinates in the service.

But lack of means necessary to the enforcement of the responsibility is not alone applicable to subordinates. The heads of divisions,

even the heads of departments, may not be held to an intelligent responsibility for operative results. About the only information which comes regularly to the mayor has little or nothing to do with the administrative duties of his office. He is in a position to be promptly confronted with complaints or refusal to perform acts demanded of subordinates by a political boss, or to have heads of departments convicted of offensive partisanship, but so far as the manner in which the department or municipal activity is managed, he has little to show by way of defense, nor has the mayor, as chief executive, adequate data for judgment on issues presented.

The same situation prevails with respect to the responsibility of the mayor to the people. Being held legally responsible for the official acts of heads of divisions of the service, and for knowledge with respect to the doings of each department, he not only does not have before him the information essential to intelligent judgment on matters of public business, but he is unable to render an intelligent report of his own doings. He may not even act intelligently on the annual budget. In consequence the mayor falls victim to the shifting fortunes of the political boss whose creature he is made, or having been elected independently of party, is swept aside by a wave of popular prejudice raised on an issue of duty without anything to show for conscientious service rendered. So long as this condition prevails municipalities are not in a position intelligently to undertake the ownership and operation of industries.

Conclusion

Intelligent ownership requires that there may be an intelligent method whereby the duties and responsibilities of proprietorship may be performed. Even as owner of a gas plant company without operation, there should be required such an account of stewardship and such an inspection as will inform the city official and the citizen whether or not the plant in the possession of the private corporation is being adequately maintained or, if not adequately maintained, whether an adequate reserve is being made for depreciation. A municipality which would own and operate an industry has the problem of proprietorship compounded by all of the problems of operation and all the problems of service.

Just so soon as cities provide the means for intelligent control,

for the protection as well as the enforcement of managing responsibility, for the reward of the efficient and the faithful and the degradation of the inefficient and the time-serving civic infidel, just so soon will it be prepared to undertake functions now performed by private corporations and to perform these functions in a manner not only creditable to themselves but in harmony with the highest welfare of the people. In the meantime the evils to be feared or which have been realized in municipal ownership will have to be balanced against evils complained of at the hands of public-service-private corporations and, as in Philadelphia, the people will continue to flee from evils known, in a system in force, to evils unknown, in a system which offers itself as a temporary expedient. The public service will be kicked and bantered about as is the municipal official who, be he true or be he false, is carried away by partisan policies or in a response to the cry of the demagogue to "sweep the rascals out."

Asking for increased government control, should not the American people premise this request on an insistent demand for increased intelligence concerning the management of business affairs? Until adequate provision has been made for such intelligence, increased government control through public ownership and operation may not safely be undertaken.

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL SERVICES FROM THE STAND- POINT OF THE ENTREPRENEUR

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The people of the United States have been said to possess great confidence in machinery. This is a characteristic quite as much of our political as of our industrial life. An example of the latter fact is the popular attitude toward public service corporations. The average man reads of monopolized industries, with their manipulations of prices and arbitrary charges for equal services, and at once looks to a new set of political machinery to eliminate the evil. He concludes that public service corporations are monopolistic in character and that the only way to cure the abuses connected with them is to summarily abolish the order of things that made the abuses possible. When the local services are poorly managed he seizes upon accounts of the successful management of similar enterprises by public officials in distant countries and decides that the remedy is to adopt the same system at home. This attitude of mind is brought about by drawing too uncritical a contrast between what exists under widely different conditions in a foreign country and the actual management of the home services. The assumption is made that the same political machinery will work the same results at all times and in all places. Instead it should be realized that the time and place are ordinarily the elements immensely more important, and that these being in an ideal condition the method of management becomes a comparatively unimportant matter. Given perfect conditions, and the discussion of the superiority of public or private management of the public services becomes purely academic, but so long as perfect conditions do not exist there is an opportunity for an honest difference of opinion as to the relative advantages of the two methods.

In the minds of all the chief question in the management of the public services is how to secure the greatest efficiency. Putting aside, then, the purely academic question of whether public

or private capital should manage public services, it becomes simply a problem of solving which of the two methods under the conditions surrounding the particular enterprise gives greater promise of securing good results. Too much stress cannot be placed upon the fact that in choosing between any systems of managing the public services the community in which they are placed is an inseparable element in the problem.

It is largely from this point of view that the public service corporation in the United States claims that its administration of the public services is superior to that by public officers. It is asserted that under present conditions private management brings better net results—the claim of greater efficiency. That the government has a right to regulate the action of public service corporations is no longer a subject of dispute in the law of the United States. The right of the state to go even to the length of appropriating the services to itself in return for just payment to the owners or lessees is unquestioned, but if such action is taken it should be dependent on the advantages to be gained and not on the basis of sentiment or prejudice.

From the standpoint of the entrepreneur public services may be divided into two classes, according to the degree of professional skill necessary to their management: First, there are those which, after the original construction is completed, require only ordinary manual labor and a fair degree of executive and clerical ability to keep them in efficient condition. Such until recently has been the character of the work of street cleaning in even our large cities. In the management of services of this character but little difference need exist between public and private operation. A fairly able manager at the head and a fair devotion to duty by the staff should produce passable results. At the other extreme stand those branches which demand a high degree of executive ability, good commercial judgment and a great technical skill to secure satisfactory results. Such are the gas and electric lighting plants and the transportation systems which have come to play so important a part in our municipal life. It is very evident that the majority of our public services approach the latter class much more than the former, and it is to the consideration of such enterprises that we will chiefly turn our attention.

The entrepreneur insists that under present conditions a system

of public management varies in success inversely as the complexity of the organization necessary to render the service. The chief points of superiority claimed for private management are as follows:

First, the effect of the desire of gain upon the management. It is all important to secure some force which will affect the entire administration with a desire for efficiency. Any element which fails to contribute to the sum of efficiency of the plant is a dead weight, a hindrance to the earnings of the company and lessens the quality of the service performed. The strongest stimulating influence which can be easily brought to bear upon the average man is the desire for gain. If this force can be enlisted on the side of efficiency the battle is won. There are many reasons why this is much easier of accomplishment under private management than under public officials.

The continual shifting of political parties and of the men in influence in the same party has prevented the development in our cities of a corps of municipal employees who can feel confident that faithful work brings permanence of tenure, and that greater ability insures more rapid advancement. The disintegrating effect of short terms and insecure tenure of office is evident in all ranks of the service, from the heads of departments to the day laborers. Since the tenure of office is but for a brief period and political fences are constantly in need of repair, there is every temptation on the part of the mayor and the heads of departments under him to use the means in their hands for their continuance in office. Manipulation of the municipal patronage can be practiced without causing important protest. Even if the public services suffer in no other way from this influence, their management is bound to be in more or less constant flux from changes of party or changes within a party.

The lower officers and laborers, too, feeling that in any case their term must be short, cannot but be susceptible to the thought that while the opportunity lasts the best must be made of it. A temptation to make the most of an easy job at good pay is always present, and there is a strong possibility that the money interests of the municipality will have to suffer as a consequence. To say the least, the chance of advancement and permanent tenure being removed the feeling comes to the laborer that the position will last in any case as long as the term of office. The next election brings

him an even chance of getting his work back again, but long and faithful service gives him no claim to preference. The security of his position depends rather upon his loyalty and services to the party than to the city's interests. His political activity becomes more important in his eyes than his industrial duties, and this attitude inevitably leads to a disposition to "sit down on his job."

Another disadvantage that the short term of office brings to the publicly-elected manager of the city services is that, no matter how anxious he may be to serve the municipality creditably, he hardly has time to become familiar with his duties when he is turned out of office. The branches of a large city service are so many and intricate that it would take almost a whole term for the new official to become truly acquainted with the department it was his duty to manage.

As a general rule the man elected has much less experience in management of work similar to that over which he is to preside than would a man chosen to manage a private business of the same size. Take, for example, the management of a big city gas plant or street car system. What guarantee have we that the popularly elected chief will have seen the service in the lower positions in a similar enterprise which would be required of one put in charge of a like concern privately managed? We are not here concerned with the question of whether or not the public can ever be impressed with the necessity of electing experienced men to manage their public services, but simply with the *fact* that the history of American municipal enterprises does not prove that they regularly do so, while the history of privately managed services shows the adoption of that practice.

The public officer has generally less technical training than the one selected under private management. The very circumstances of American municipal politics at the present time, where the salaries of the offices and the patronage connected with them constitute the chief legitimate reward for political service, make it highly improbable that the more important offices connected with the publicly-managed enterprises will be given to men who have not taken an active part in securing the success of the party in power. This so narrows the number of men specially fitted by education who are also apt to be selected for the offices by the political party as to practically eliminate the class entirely. Further, the really first-

class man would not only be thus debarred, but as a rule would not accept the position if offered because of the better opportunities obtainable in the field of private enterprise. Under these conditions the public services must operate at a disadvantage. It means that as a rule the man who is at the head of the work is not a master of the technique of operation in his department. He must rely upon his subordinates for advice and information which he should himself be in a position to give. He cannot see so clearly what should be done, and adopt a firm and consistent policy to carry it out.

These are the disadvantages of public management when the heads of departments are chosen directly by the people. Appointment by their political representative, the mayor, or election by councils or by a combination of these methods, has much the same effect. A greater independence of selection may sometimes be obtained, but the controlling influence is more apt to be politics than efficiency. Even if the appointed officer wishes to maintain an independent attitude, to carry on the operations of his department on strictly business principles and to keep his selection of employees free from any but industrial considerations, he can hardly expect to carry out these plans. Councilmen will unfailingly urge upon him the employment of this man and that, regardless of whether additional help is needed or not. The temptation to create a position for such an applicant or to discharge some one not possessed of political support is great. The head of a department knows that his plans for keeping up a high standard of efficiency are first and last dependent upon receiving adequate appropriations from councils. To get out of sympathy with the representatives would be to antagonize the very body upon whom he must depend for his resources. He is thus placed between two fires—he must choose between allowing politics to enter into the management of his labor account or he must run the risk of creating hostility or at least lack of interest on the part of councils. As a rule the head of a department chooses what he considers the lesser of the two evils and surrenders his labor account to exploitation. The door once opened, it is almost impossible to check the advance of politics, and the would-be impartial director finds himself forced into the active campaign. This picture is not an exaggeration, as is proven by the experience of many cities. In practice we find that the appointive head, though he may often have the advantage of experi-

ence over the officer directly elected works under no less a disadvantage than he. The management of the Philadelphia gas works illustrates the case. Though the chief was appointed and at first made a show of independence, his forced reliance on councils soon reduced the department of gas to a mere wheel in the machine.

Providing that the management of city services is under the charge of boards elected for so long a term as to constitute practically permanent bodies a greater independence of action may reasonably be expected from the members, but the appointments are still bound to be sought by and as a rule, given to the men who have rendered yeoman service to the party rather than to those who have the best experience and technical training. The limited possibilities in the way of salary remain the same as where the officers are elected. Even granting that the officers are well qualified when elected or appointed to the permanent board they have not the same incentive as when working for a personal employer. The loyalty to the municipality is not, with notable exceptions, as keen as the loyalty to the private employer. The officer is almost sure to hold his position for the full term even if no great efforts for improvement are made, and that fact—all unconsciously, perhaps, but none the less surely—lessens his efficiency as compared to the man who realizes that his position and advancement depend upon his best efforts every day and his being up with the times in his plans for extension and improvement.

Even when the head offices are filled by the members of a permanent board there still may remain the management of the employment list on the spoils principle. This of course means that the larger portion of the service is left under the same disadvantages as before described. These, in brief, are the conditions which put the personnel of a publicly managed city service under a disadvantage as compared to private enterprise. In order to bring the two more sharply into contrast, let us review the similar points as shown in an average private corporation. Here, again, the comparison is not between what should be and what is but is based on present conditions in the United States.

Those at the head of the private company are responsible to the stockholders much more directly in fact, however it may be in theory, than are our public servants to the people. They have greater reason to believe that their offices are permanent during

good behavior. Efficiency is the chief claim to permanence of position and exceptional ability is rewarded by rapid advancement. No time is wasted in non-industrial pursuits, such as caring for the party fortune in the employee's own ward.

Secondly. Experience and technical training are at a premium and are definitely sought after from first to last. The salaries are higher than in public enterprises where the officer's responsibility is the same.

Thirdly. There is continuity of policy. The company cannot be carried along on any but sound business principles. The consciousness of the permanence of the interests involved makes the directors less prone to adopt a policy which would temporarily bridge over a difficulty at the cost of increased expenditure later on. There is no temptation to conceal the state of affairs "until after election," as must often be the case where party interests clash with those of the public industries.

Besides the disadvantages connected with the personnel of management and operation there are other limitations of municipal administration. In the management of the finances of the public services the city is distinctly handicapped. The administration of any large corporation is subject to occasional demands for large amounts of money which cannot always be foreseen. Such are the unusual expenditures caused by accidents or the necessity of making an important addition to the plant at once. To meet such a condition is difficult for most of our cities. An emergency fund large enough to cover such demands would prove too easy a source of income to be placed in the hands of the ordinary authorities. Such a practice would soon lead to appropriations for "extraordinary" purposes which would come to be counted upon as a regular source of income for the department.

To make the appropriation rest on special action of councils also would be a possibility, but would not be entirely satisfactory. Councils are not always easily convinced of the advisability of an expenditure even when it would appear an imperative necessity to even the casual observer. Reluctance to incur the criticism through running up the tax rate or desire to spend the available money on some more brilliant but less necessary project has defeated many excellent and imperative improvements and extensions in publicly managed city services. Even if councils realize

the advantage or need of certain changes it may be impossible for them to grant the money, though they wish to do so. Many of our cities also have already reached the statutory limit of indebtedness and it would be impossible for them to raise the money needed to meet any largely increased demands upon their treasuries. Thus the improvement, though it might be all important to have it made at once, would have to be postponed until the legislature could, by special act, allow the city to increase its indebtedness. Whatever method of solution is adopted it seems clear that the city is at a distinct disadvantage in meeting unusual demands which may be made upon it for maintaining its public services at their highest efficiency.

A private company in a similar position experiences no such hindrance. A good financial risk can easily secure immediate command of capital, and does not have to go before a local or state legislature where conflicting interests may delay if not defeat the needed appropriation. The financial interests of those managing the company also prompt them to be on a keener lookout for any unusual demand which may be made upon them. They hold a better chance of foreseeing the necessity for extensions, alterations or improvements, and have better facilities for meeting the situation when it comes.

Much of the writing denunciatory of private management of public services is based on the evil effects of the influence of corporations in politics. Many would be willing to concede the superior efficiency of private management in general, but insist that all the advantages gained through such administration are much overbalanced by the corrupt practices due to intrigues in the local legislative bodies. The evils connected with attempted franchise grabbing are so great it is asserted, that the only way to abolish these influences is to effectively take the services out of politics by putting them under public management absolutely. Such arguments are based on the assumption that political influences are removed by delivering the services into public control. Politics are to be removed by placing the management in the hands of politicians. Thus stated, it becomes clear that the adoption of control by the public does not necessarily mean all it seems to indicate. As a matter of fact, under present American conditions, politics are a permanent factor in the management of public services whether under

private or public operation. The patronage wielded by public officers is no whit less an important factor in local politics than that exerted by the franchise-holding companies. Beyond a doubt such influence is baneful—and in the one case quite as much as in the other. Whether we shall be able to develop laws and a public opinion which will eliminate these influences is still a question for the future. Our course of action for the present must be planned with a frank recognition of the existence of such influence and the object of reducing it to a minimum. No one who considers the situation carefully would assert the presence of political influence in the one case and deny it in the other. The best interests of the community demand that whatever system of management be chosen that politics be eliminated. For the good of the corporations also it is beyond doubt to be desired that they should confine themselves wholly to industry. Under present conditions the temptation to enter politics for the defense of their interests is in many cases almost irresistible. Oftentimes these interests may be legitimate and need defense only due to the general prejudice against the management of businesses affected with a public interest by private individuals.

This state of affairs is most unfortunate both for the public and for the entrepreneur. On the one side it produces an acute distrust of all companies making proposals to do public work. Every proposition is attacked as if it were an attempt to legalize the stealing of public money. The representatives of the people are often prejudiced and unable to consider the purely industrial side of the enterprise in question. Instead of attempting to attract capital while fully protecting municipal interests, they are apt to approach the granting of a franchise in a hostile attitude, and often insist on useless stipulations which are an expense to the company and of no advantage to the community. As an example of such specifications may be cited the requirement made by one of our largest cities that service pipes for gas must be put in every sixteen feet. When it is remembered that such services often, as in this case, extend for long distances along parks and undeveloped districts the regulation appears ridiculous as well as useless.

The lack of sympathy between the public and its servants has an equally bad effect upon the attitude of the latter. Realizing that the spirit of many of those from whom they must get their rights is

one of hostility and unreasoning prejudice, they assume the stand that unfair measures may be used to overcome unfair treatment. Once the field has been entered, there is the temptation to extend the company's activities beyond the defense of their legitimate interests to the securing of special and questionable privileges. The influence used to prevent prejudiced or "hold-up" legislation may easily be continued to deaden the convictions of would-be honest representatives. Examples of the use of corporate influence in this way fill all too many pages of the history of American municipal councils. The general result of such a state of affairs is mutual distrust and recrimination.

It must not be supposed, however, that by removing the public services from private management all evils connected with their administration will be at an end. Our American experience demonstrates quite the contrary. The only definite change which necessarily results is the transfer of the influence exerted by the private companies into the hands of the local politicians, an alternative by no means insuring improvement. It is not to be expected that in a country where the rewards of office are the most important object of political struggles, rather than any honor or social position attached thereto, that the large patronage offered by the payrolls of the publicly managed municipal services would not prove a prey to the ward politician. The chance to secure "jobs" with liberal pay at public expense for the political and personal friends of the successful candidates is too tempting to be resisted. It may, of course, be argued that an efficient civil service would put all the positions of this character out of the reach of the politicians. That is doubtless possible, but the creation of an effective civil service law for the management of the present public positions should be a prerequisite before the city should embark on new and expensive departures in municipal industries. When the cities show the willingness and the ability to create a truly efficient civil service the field may not be so difficult for public administration of the public services, but until such a move is not only advocated but carried out in good faith, any increase in the activities of a city only opens a longer payroll for exploitation by the "boss."

This fact is so patent in the history of American municipal industries that it is worth while to illustrate it from one of the most conspicuous examples—the notorious experience of Philadelphia in

the management of her own gas works. Hardly a branch of this now famous experiment failed to show signs of exploitation for political ends.

The first account to be attacked was, of course, that promising the greatest number of positions to clamoring political dependents. This was the labor list in the manufacturing and distributing departments. High wages were paid—twenty-five per cent over the price for labor on the open market. The chief of the gas bureau was constantly besieged by the friends of various councilmen in search of easy work at high prices. The lists were padded with a number of laborers far beyond the actual needs of the plant. So many were there indeed that it is asserted that had all the employees been stood shoulder to shoulder, room could not be found for all of them at one time on the grounds of the plant. Naturally, under such conditions there was shirking of work on all sides, and some favored ones turned up at the works, it was said, only on pay day. The amount of work each had to do varied in accordance with the influence of his friends in councils. Receiving these easy jobs from the political boss, the employees were in turn exploited by him by means of semi-annual "voluntary contributions" to the party in power.

The purchasing and selling accounts were likewise abused. Coal was bought from favored firms only, the residual tar and ammonia always went to a single firm, though nominally sold to the highest bidder. In practice there was but the one bidder. When another bidder on one occasion put in a bid higher than that of the regular contractor the award was not given him "because he did not have the facilities for handling the product." The coke was disposed of through a member of select council. The charges entered under the blanket account of "miscellaneous" exceeded \$100,000 a year, and there were large amounts charged against such accounts as "ice," "matches" and "drugs and horse medicine."

The works were exploited indirectly also. Councils were anxious to cut down all appropriations for improvements and extensions in order to turn as large an amount as possible into the treasury as "profits of the works." This would enable them to keep down the general tax rate and have money for more favored plans, but it had a disastrous effect upon the general condition of the plant. Small and rotten mains and service pipes were left unrenewed, thus caus-

ing a leakage in some years of as much as thirty per cent of the gas manufactured. Antiquated machinery was kept in use through the refusal of councils to put in modern appliances—a practice which cost the city in wasteful methods of production far more than would have been the cost of new apparatus. Councils even went so far as to cut down very materially the use of the gas for public lighting. In the place of the public gas lamps light was bought at high prices from gasoline and electric lighting companies. These were private concerns in which councilmen and others prominent in local politics were interested.

In a word, the management of almost every branch of the public gas works was dictated by politics. Not only the heads of departments, but every employee from the top to the bottom of the labor account threw his whole influence into political affairs. The tenure of the party in power marked the tenure of office of the employees. Such was the experience of Philadelphia in the management of a municipal industry.

It is not contended that this is in all respects a typical case and that the same thing would occur in every detail in all our American cities did they undertake similar services. That such is not the case is proven by the experience of some of our cities in similar enterprises. But the example is given to show what has actually occurred in one of the most important experiments in municipal ownership in America. The circumstances of other American cities are not so different as to overthrow the presumption that the possibility of similar abuses exists there also, though not perhaps in the same degree as in the above instance. The example is given only to drive home the argument that under present conditions it is entirely possible for politics to play quite as large a part in the management of public services when under public as when under private control.

This being the actual state of affairs, the important question to be answered is: In which way can the connection of the public services and politics be more easily minimized. If public ownership is to be chosen radical measures must be adopted to remove all control of the municipal industries from possibility of political interference. To widely extend the functions of city government, thereby increasing the temptation to abuse of patronage, seems in itself to

introduce an element making it increasingly difficult to keep a civil service system on a strictly non-partisan basis.

The other alternative is to elect representatives of such character as to command public confidence and who will be able to guard the city's interests in making arrangements with contracting companies. Each of these methods carries with it the possibility of honest management. On the point of integrity there would be little to choose between the two, carried on under ideal conditions. Improvement over present conditions must in either case come through raising the character of the representatives. A simple change from one set of machinery to the other will accomplish nothing.

The point then is: Is it easier to elect men who will be judges of a fair contract or men who will be able to run our municipal industries at a standard of efficiency equal to the average of private management. The former seems much more easy of attainment than the latter. The chances of our getting by popular vote a man with intelligence to determine the provisions of our contracts seem much greater than our chances of getting men specially suited by experience and education to carry on our municipal industries. The average man can choose work for the carpenter to do and judge the work when done much better than he can do the work himself. Similarly, the average representative can choose the terms upon which the city will have its work done and can judge whether it has been done according to the agreement much easier than he can carry out the plan himself. If the representatives of the people cannot be trusted to make fair terms with a contracting company how can they be trusted with the entire management of an industrial enterprise?

There is but one limit to the power of the public to regulate the conditions upon which they will give the public services into the hands of private companies—a fair return to capital. What is a fair return is, again, largely settled by the conditions offered in the contract. If the agreement is so strict as to make it impossible to raise the earnings of the company above the average of industrial undertakings in the community then it is clear that the city must hold itself ready to guarantee that the earnings *shall reach* that standard. Otherwise capital will of course refuse to take up the project. In case the municipality, on the other hand, does not care to assume the chance of loss by the company it must be prepared

to grant a larger possible rate of return in exchange for its freedom from liability.

Within these limits the city may take all necessary measures to protect its interests in its public services. The more clearly the city evinces its desire to guard its own interests and at the same time to grant to the private company a reasonable rate of income and to protect it from unreasonable interference with that income, the less will be the desire and the temptation of the company to interfere with local political affairs.

Such an agreement would secure to the city all the advantages claimed by the advocates of municipal operation without the increased responsibility of direct management. A municipally-operated plant would in any case withdraw from other branches of industry the same amount of capital as would be employed in the enterprise by a private corporation. The interest on that capital must in the one case just as surely as in the other finally be paid by the community at large.

The choice between the two methods of operating the municipal services must depend not on what may be accomplished under *ideal* conditions, but upon the likelihood of efficiency under *present* conditions.

Under American conditions to-day, then, the entrepreneur would maintain that:

1. The direct responsibility present under private management makes it possible for a higher degree of efficiency to be obtained than under public operation.

2. The stimulus of gain can be made a more powerful element working for efficiency in all branches of operation under private than under public control.

3. The influence of politics upon the public services can be lessened more easily by having the representatives determine the terms upon which the city services shall be let out under contract than by turning the entire administration of the services over to the representatives.

4. By the granting of contracts clearly safeguarding both the interests of the city and the investor the management of the public services may be brought to the highest degree of simplicity, economy and efficiency.

CHICAGO TRACTION: A STUDY IN POLITICAL EVOLUTION

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The geographical element which has always been at the basis of Chicago's traction problem is the division of the city into a North, a South, and a West Side by the Chicago River and its north and south branches. The area immediately back from the lake in the angle between the river proper and its south branch, occupying the extreme northern portion of the South Side, is the down-town district, the commercial center from which the city's growth has extended into the three geographical areas. The primary problem of transportation has been from the start to carry people back and forth between the three sides respectively and down-town; at this elemental stage the solution of the problem has rested. The three sides have remained both in the matter of surface and of overhead transportation essentially distinct; the need for direct communication between the sides, which inevitably arose with the city's growth, the demand for a cross-town service, in short, the urgent necessity for a unified transportation system, has never been met.

The earliest franchises were given to separate companies to operate in one or the other of the three sides. The Chicago City Railway was chartered in 1859 with both South and West Side rights. The franchises of the North Chicago Company, chartered in the same year, were located on the North Side, and in 1863 the Chicago West Division Company, chartered in 1861, took over the West Side rights of the Chicago City Railway Company.

This was the period of the introduction of the horse railway; between 1860 and 1865 some of the most important trunk lines were constructed. With the rapid increase of population and the necessity for the extension of service, the companies began to plan for an extension of their franchises. The first grants had been either

unspecified or fixed at a period of twenty-five years. In 1863 the companies succeeded in passing through the legislature a measure extending their charters to ninety-nine years. This measure was vetoed by Governor Yates, but was again taken up and passed by the legislature of 1865 and repassed over the veto of Governor Oglesby.¹

The ninety-nine year act of 1865, the exact meaning of which was determined only by a decision of the United States Supreme Court rendered March 12, 1906, was apparently believed at the time to extend the street privileges of the companies for the full period of its duration.² This belief resulted in something of a political upheaval which was reflected in the Constitution of 1870 by a provision withdrawing from the General Assembly the right to grant franchises in any city without the approval of the local authorities of the city. Four years later the legislature passed the "horse and dummy act," by which all franchises were limited to a period of twenty years.

During the seventies the three companies above mentioned retained a monopoly in their respective fields. The movement toward adoption of mechanical traction did not begin until early in the eighties, and at first affected only one or two lines on the South Side, where competition had arisen with the steam roads. The successful operation of the cable, however, brought a demand for an extension of the cable service. This meant large expenditures of money which would not be undertaken with uncertain franchises. The meaning of the ninety-nine year act had never been ascertained, and its validity as a whole had been assailed. In addition to this, there was a dispute between the companies and the city over a car license of fifty dollars per year, levied by an ordinance of 1878, but never collected. But for the act of 1865 many of the franchises would soon expire; the city was anxious for an improvement of the service, and the companies desired to make their franchises secure. On July 30, 1883, a compromise was arranged which waived the whole question of the merits of the case and provided for the

¹At a hearing upon the Müller Law before Governor Yates, the younger, in 1903 it was asserted that the Governor's father had been offered \$100,000 to let the Act of 1863 become a law. The authority offered was the elder Yates' signature.

²The attorneys for the companies made extensive investigations of the newspapers of the time to establish before the court the intention of the legislature to extend the street privileges.

payment of the car license by the company and an extension of all franchises for twenty years from date. Franchises granted after 1883 were for the most part made to expire with the earlier ones in 1903 or soon after, although there are still a few that do not expire until 1916.

The two decades between 1880 and 1900 constitute a period of constant reorganization and readjustment both on the technical and the financial side of street railway operations. Cable traction, first introduced, as just described, by the Chicago City Railway Company, began in the late eighties to be adopted by the other companies. At the beginning of the nineties electric traction, in the form of the overhead trolley, was introduced, and long before the end of the decade was supplanting the awkward cable even where the latter was already in operation. Before electric traction was established experiments with the underground trolley, later so successfully operated in New York, were declared to have failed.³ An ordinance prohibiting the use of the trolley in a large part of the down-town area has been set aside only piecemeal by issuing special permits for certain streets; this has been one of the influences leading to the retention of the cable in a part of that area.⁴

Financial reorganization, or, more accurately speaking, exploitation, has applied especially to the North and West Sides. On the South Side the Chicago City Railway, dominated until very recently at least, by local capital, has remained in control from the start. On the North Side the property and rights of the original company, the North Chicago City Railway Company, was in May, 1886, leased for 999 years to the North Chicago Street Railroad Company, a company incorporated and controlled by Messrs. Yerkes, Widener and Elkins. During the eighties several companies were chartered for operation on the West Side, among which was the West Chicago Street Railroad Company, which by 1888, under the domination of Mr. Yerkes, was in practical control of the other West Side companies.

The period of Yerkes' domination continued until the formation of the Chicago Union Traction Company by a group of New

³These experiments were inaugurated under the direction of an engineer called over from Buda-Pest, and who had helped to install a successful system in that city. While the experiments were under way the engineer was called off. It is believed that failure was intended.

⁴Electrification of the last of the old cable lines was finally accomplished on October twenty-first.

York, Philadelphia and Chicago capitalists in 1899. This company purchased Mr. Yerkes' holdings in the North Chicago Street Railroad Company and in the West Chicago Street Railroad Company, the controlling companies respectively on the North and West Sides. The new company also obtained control through an operating agreement, of the Chicago Consolidated Traction Company, which possessed a large number of suburban lines. The Yerkes stock of the North Chicago and the West Chicago Street Railroad Companies, purchased by the Chicago Union Traction, did not in itself give the new combination control of those companies. Union Traction did, however, own a majority of the stock of the three subsidiary companies, namely, the North Chicago City Railway Company, the Chicago Passenger Railway Company, and the Chicago West Division Railway Company. The control of the whole traction situation on the North and West Sides was obtained by a lease from June 1, 1899, of all privileges and properties of the North Chicago and the West Chicago Street Railroad Companies, including their stocks in other companies.

To return to the question of franchises, the situation in the nineties was essentially as it had been in the early eighties. Capital was needed for electrification of lines; this, it was claimed, could not be secured upon franchises about to expire, or at least to be called in question in 1903. At the same time the gas companies of Chicago were seeking, among other privileges, legislative consent to a consolidation which to all intents and purposes had been consummated years before, but never legalized. The political situation seemed to be peculiarly propitious for a united legislative effort on the part of the two interests. The street railways, therefore, with Yerkes as the dominant figure, instead of negotiating with the city council, as had been done in the eighties, joined with the gas companies in persuading the legislature.

The united legislative program was embodied in the Humphreys bills. The act concerning street railways proposed to give them, together with other privileges, a fifty-year extension of all franchises granted by city ordinance. The measures were introduced with apparently good chances of success, but the absolute disregard of the public was so flagrant in the traction measure that popular demonstration interposed to defeat it. After the first defeat a new measure was introduced which simply authorized the city council to do what

the Humphreys bill had undertaken to do directly. The Allen bill, as the new act was called, went through without mishap four days after the gas consolidation act had become a law. The city council promptly refused to exercise the authority granted by the Allen law, and the 1898 election resulted in such a rebuke to those members who had supported any of the public service corporation measures that the new legislature repealed the Allen law by a practically unanimous vote.

The net result of two years of notorious legislative effort on the part of the companies was a wide-awake public sentiment arrayed in hostile opposition against them. Long continued intolerable service, coupled with unmistakable and brazen corruption could hardly fail in the end to arouse a long-suffering public. The measures of 1897 were not first offenses; they represented, rather, the flood tide of a career of boodle legislation. Earlier efforts had been more largely centralized on the city council. In 1895, the date which marked the greatest degradation of Chicago's council, it was well known that a large proportion of its membership had become an organized gang of blackmailers whose negotiations with the public service corporations were for the councilmen's own profit, and who were always ready to "deliver the goods" for sufficient compensation. The relation of the companies with members of the state legislature which, to put the case mildly, had been regarded with suspicion in connection with nearly every piece of street railway legislation, on the occasion of the Humphreys and Allen bills reached the highest stage of noisome and indecent corruption.

The public in 1898 was not inclined to exonerate its elected servants, so-called, for the part they had taken in the degradation of municipal and state politics. A large body of citizens, however, attributed the custom of buying legislatures directly to the determination of the public service corporations to secure and retain valuable privileges without giving in return any adequate compensation. However correct this analysis, the public was beginning to understand something of the nature of a franchise and to appreciate the public service element in the urban transportation industry. The hostility to the companies had been led by the best informed citizenship of the city, and its underlying causes are indispensable to an understanding of the developments in later years.

The failure of the Allen bill to result in any action on the

part of the city council, as well as the responsibility for its later repeal, is to be attributed in a large measure to the Municipal Voters' League. This organization, the fruit of agitation carried on by the Civic Federation and the Civil Service Reform Association, represents the work of a comparatively small number of active public-spirited citizens. Its activities are confined chiefly to securing and publishing accurate information concerning the character, the record and the general fitness or unfitness of candidates for public office. From the moment the Voters' League was established in 1896 the regeneration of the city council began. Within the next two years the absolute domination of the council by the public service interests was ended.

Thus far, however, the only results of popular agitation were entirely negative; franchises had been defeated and the companies, with their allies in the government, had been rebuked; but little or no progress had been made toward developing a consistent traction policy. The city was confronted by that greatest of all obstacles to a well-considered and reasonable attitude toward the public service corporations, namely, the absence of comprehensive and reliable information. It was believed that past franchises had been unfair, but until the whole financial history of the companies should be revealed no one could indicate the conditions which a fair and reasonable franchise should contain. The only source from which information could be obtained was the companies themselves, and it was not expected that they would voluntarily surrender what they had always claimed, and what public service corporations throughout the country had claimed, as legitimate business secrets.

The situation of the Chicago companies, however, in 1898 was unusual. Although the Allen law was still on the statute books, the refusal of the city council to extend franchises, as the provisions of the law permitted, was apparently final. All companies were anxious to reverse this action of the council, or at least to secure positive action of some sort. In response to an invitation of the Civic Federation in June, 1898, Mr. Yerkes addressed a public meeting and showed a strong desire to placate popular sentiment. The events accompanying and succeeding the legislative session of 1897 had not entirely failed to make an impression. Mr. Yerkes was reminded on this occasion that the public, without information, were simply playing with loaded dice, and that public demands could

be met only by opening the books of the companies to expert examination. Whether convinced by the logic of this argument, or because he saw the futility of further legislative effort along old lines, Mr. Yerkes subsequently opened the books of the North and West Side Companies to a committee of the Civic Federation, consisting of eminent citizens and public service specialists. The South Side Company followed suit, and under the committee's direction the books of the six chief companies were gone over by a professional accountant.

Briefly summarized, this examination indicated that on July 1, 1901,⁵ the value of the several franchises as ascertained by subtracting the value of tangible assets from the market value of liabilities was about \$75,000,000. The extension of franchises which the companies had sought would, upon this basis, by enhancing the price of marketable securities, have immeasurably increased the franchise values. Comparing the face value of the liabilities with the original cost of assets it was found that the excess of liabilities was about \$62,000,000, or, compared with the market value of assets, the excess was about \$72,000,000; in other words, the companies, by their various financial operations, had very nearly succeeded in capitalizing their franchises. On the supposition that a franchise is a valuable right for which full value should be given in return, this excess capitalization represented water.

The average rate of profit of the several companies for the year 1900 was found to be 14.6 per cent upon original cost, or 20 per cent on the market value of assets. Upon this basis, it was pointed out that except for watered stock, the companies would then have been in a position to pay the city 12 per cent of gross income, lay aside 4 per cent for depreciation, aside from repairs and maintenance, and still pay a 6 per cent dividend upon the original cost. Using as the capital investment the market value of assets, fares could have been lowered to four cents, a 6 per cent dividend declared and 4 per cent set aside for depreciation, even had the lowering of fares resulted in no increase of traffic.

Although it was recognized that there was no immediate possibility of squeezing out of the capitalization, water to the full amount of the stock and part of the bonds of the companies, the definite

⁵The examination proper of the Civic Federation ended January 1, 1898. A summary of results prepared by Dr. Milo R. Maltbie brought the account up to July 1, 1901-

knowledge that the water was there and how it came there was of tremendous educational value. The evidence of a persistent failure to write off depreciation, the payment of large stock dividends and bonuses to stockholders, the payment of exorbitant prices for construction and conversion of lines to companies organized and owned by the large stockholders in the traction companies—all these things simply explained and harmonized with the legislative activities of the traction interests.

With the spread of information the prospect of further franchise extension without compensation diminished. The investigation, moreover, made it possible for the city to formulate a traction policy. The question was no longer whether the city should continue to be exploited, but by what method it could best protect its interests and insure the establishment of a decent system of transportation. In all of this the companies had been thrown on the defensive; their franchises were about to expire; with the shortening of the franchise period the market value of securities was sure to decrease. With the failure of legislative ventures the companies rested their hope for extension beyond their twenty-year grants upon the ninety-nine year act which they had hitherto been chary of pressing.

Meanwhile the physical properties had deteriorated; it was evidently expected that the need of rehabilitation would be a strong argument in favor at least of another twenty-year grant. The events of the late nineties, however, had crystalized a strong sentiment against granting any new franchises whatever. Many who were not in favor of municipal ownership as an abstract principle believed that the city must at least be granted the legal right to own and operate before it could be on a favorable footing to negotiate with the companies. The street railway commission created by the partially regenerated city council in 1899 embodied this idea in a provisional act submitted to the state legislature. Again in 1901 the same idea was incorporated in a bill presented by the committee on local transportation which from that time conducted the legislative efforts of the city council. The council committee's bill, which was carefully drawn and ably supported was killed in the House committee at Springfield.

Although between 1900 and 1903 there was a strong demand for almost any sort of a settlement which would result in improved

service, and negotiations were from time to time conducted upon that basis, the out-and-out municipal ownership sentiment was all the time increasing. In the spring of 1902 the Referendum League succeeded in having the general question of city ownership of street railways submitted to a popular vote.⁶ The result was nearly 143,000 for to 28,000 against. It has been claimed that a large part of this vote of five to one for municipal ownership represented simply a general feeling of hostility to the traction companies similar to that which caused the legislative landslide of 1898; it at least showed despair of a just settlement with the companies on the basis of a new franchise.

Unfortunately for the cause of municipal ownership, the local sentiment in Chicago did not extend to the state legislature. Although there was strong suspicion that the failure of the House committee to report the local transportation committee's bill in 1901 was occasioned by "undue influence" on the part of the traction interests, it was known that the brand "socialistic" had not been without influence upon some of the country members. In 1903, therefore, a somewhat simpler measure was advanced with emphasis upon the necessity for enabling legislation as an indispensable condition precedent to any even-handed negotiations between the companies and the city. Several other bills were prepared, but support finally centered on a measure mainly drafted by the secretary of the Municipal Voters' League and introduced by Senator Müller. The course of this measure, as had been expected, proved that traction influence was still strong at the state capitol.

The political situation at Springfield in the beginning of 1903 seemed to lend little hope for any measure opposed by the street railway companies of Chicago. The organization dominated by the Governor, Mr. William C. Lorimer, party boss of Chicago, and Mr. George W. Hinman, editor of the *Inter-Ocean*, which had been purchased by Mr. Yerkes, controlled the organization of the House by a bare majority, and elected a weak and pliable speaker. It was believed at the time that the speaker was definitely pledged to follow Mr. Hinman's orders in all matters concerning the street rail-

⁶On May 11, 1901, an act was passed making it possible, upon petition of ten per cent of the voters, presented sixty days before an election, to submit for vote, in order to test the sentiment of the community, any question of abstract policy. This permitted a vote upon the question of municipal ownership in 1902 although the city did not at that time possess the legal right to own and operate street railways.

ways. While the Müller bill was being urged at Springfield, the mayoralty campaign was progressing in Chicago. The Voters' League platform was indorsed by both parties, the Republican candidate was active at the state capitol in behalf of the Müller bill, and the press, with the exception of the above mentioned recognized organ of the railways, was unanimous in its support. In response to this tremendous influence the bill passed the Senate just after the election, but was scheduled by the organization for defeat in the House. A substitute measure calculated to protect the interests of the companies was reported by the Lorimer-Hinman organization committee on transportation. When the public cry for the Müller bill began to threaten a coalition between the minority Republicans and Democrats, Mr. Lorimer, who with Mr. Hinman, had taken personal charge of the situation after the Müller bill passed the Senate, called in conference the Chicago sponsors for the bill. On condition of active support on the floor of the House and the withdrawal of opposition from the press, Mr. Lorimer offered as an ultimatum to embody certain amendments in the substitute bill. The extra-legislative Chicago delegation at Springfield, including the Mayor, voted to accept the substance of the Müller bill or nothing.

The final outcome was a union of all the forces opposed to the Lorimer organization and the defeat of his substitute bill practically two to one. This success, however, was achieved only after the speaker had attempted to jam the organization measure through by refusing a roll call demanded by two-thirds of the membership of the House. Fear of personal violence was the only thing which induced the speaker to recede. The effect on the majority of the speaker's refusal to permit a roll call caused the somewhat precipitate retirement of that gentleman to his private room, from which he returned to the chair only upon assenting to a formal capitulation.

The main provisions of the Müller bill as finally approved are:

(1) Cities of the state are given power to own and operate street railways, or to lease them as the city council may see fit for a period not exceeding twenty years.

(2) No city may operate street railways (although it should own them) except upon approval of a proposal to operate by a three-fifths vote of the electors.

(3) Provision is made for the reservation in any grant or lease to a private company of the right on the part of the city to take over and operate the lines or to grant them to another company.

(4) The old frontage law, which permitted an existing company by owning land in a street traveled by its lines to prevent the entry of new companies or lines, is set aside.

(5) Renewal ordinances or grants for more than five years may not go into effect until after sixty days from the date of their passage by the city council. During this period ten per cent of the voters may demand a referendum, at which a majority vote decides whether or not the ordinance shall become effective.

(6) For the purchase or construction of lines and equipment regular city bonds may be issued, provided the issue be approved by a two-thirds vote of the electors. This provision is subject, of course, to the constitutional and statutory debt limit.

(7) In lieu of general city bonds, to meet the contingency of the debt limit of a city having been reached, cities are authorized to issue street railway certificates to an amount ten per cent in advance of the cost of the street railway properties. Such certificates are to be paid solely out of the street railway properties and their income, and are never to become a lien upon the general credit of the city.

(8) Any ordinance providing for the issue of street railway certificates becomes effective only upon approval of the electors of the city by a majority vote.

(9) The Müller act as a whole does not go into effect in any city until adopted by a majority vote of the city electors.

The Müller bill was passed on May 18, 1903. The extended franchises expired in July of the same year, and barring the ninety-nine year act, the companies remained thereafter in many of the streets only on sufferance. In the April election, 1904, the Müller law was adopted by the electors of the city by a vote of over 153,000 against 30,000. The two following provisions were also adopted as indicated:

For. Against.

Shall the city council upon the adoption of the Müller law proceed without delay to acquire the ownership of the street railways under the powers conferred by the Müller law?.....	121,957	50,807
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For. Against.

Shall the city council instead of granting any franchises proceed at once under the city's police power and other existing laws to license the street railway companies until municipal ownership can be secured, and compel them to give satisfactory service? 120,863 48,200

Shortly after this election the Union Traction Company went into the hands of a receiver. Whether or not this action was voluntary is not definitely known. It is certain that the tangled legal relations between the various companies, and the mass of watered stocks and bonds bequeathed by Yerkes at the time he unloaded and got away with his profits, left the properties badly crippled. Whether voluntary or involuntary, one of the results of bankruptcy, with the legal complications involved, was to put the city at a disadvantage in any attempt to improve the service. Negotiations continued, however, with the City Railway Company, which led to the report of a tentative extension ordinance in August, 1904. The policy of the tentative ordinance looking toward ultimate municipal ownership as over against immediate municipal ownership, furnished the issue for the campaign of 1905. The election of Judge Dunne by a majority of about 20,000 over John M. Harlan, who at that time was equally objectionable to the traction interests, seemed to indicate that municipal ownership sentiment was not declining. The same indication is seen in the majorities upon the three questions submitted for referendum vote. These questions were:

Yes. No.

Shall the city council pass the ordinance reported by the local transportation committee on August 24, 1904, granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company? 64,391 150,785

Shall the city council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company? 60,020 151,974

Shall the city council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to any street railroad company?.... 59,013 152,135

The only point settled by the election of 1905 was that a majority of the votes had been cast unmistakably for municipal ownership. There was no indication of the method by which municipalization was to be achieved. The exact situation concerning the various street privileges as affected by the ninety-nine year act was not definitely known; the constitutionality of the certificate feature of the Müller law was sure to be attacked as soon as steps were taken toward financing municipal lines upon that plan.

As soon as Mr. Dunne assumed office it was clear that there was to be little co-operation between the mayor and the city council. The net result of the activities of the city government during the first year of Mayor Dunne's administration was the passage by the council on January 18, 1906, of an ordinance providing for the issue of \$75,000,000 in street railway certificates to acquire and equip street railway properties. This ordinance, with two other proposals as here indicated, was voted on at the last election.

	<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
Seventy-five million dollar Müller certificate Ordinance	110,225	106,859
Shall the city of Chicago proceed to operate street railways?	121,916	110,323
Shall the council proceed to secure municipal ownership under the Müller law instead of passing pending franchise ordinances or any other ordinances granting franchises to private companies?	111,955	108,087

This vote, although on its face less favorable to municipal ownership than previous votes had been, adds no new obstacle to municipalization. The slight significance of the vote is seen in the relatively large majority for municipal operation; it is inconceivable that any intelligent voter, upon a clear issue, could at the same time favor municipal operation and oppose municipal ownership. The operation proposal, however, requiring as it did under the Müller law a three-fifths majority, was the only one of the three proposals defeated. This again can have at best no more than academic significance, as there exists no immediate possibility of municipal operation.

The legal situation has become considerably simplified within

the past few months. On March 16, 1906, the United States Supreme Court decided that the ninety-nine year act, while extending the corporate existence of the three companies to which it applied, did not extend their street privileges. Since the last election steps have been taken to secure a judicial decision upon the constitutionality of the certificate features of the Müller law. The lower court has already upheld the law in every detail, and the case is now pending before the Supreme Court of the State. An adverse decision would practically prevent the financing of any plan of immediate municipalization, as the present municipal debt does not permit the issue of any obligations upon the general credit of the city.

Whether or not municipalization proves practicable, the ninety-nine year act decision has placed the city in a very favorable position for dealing with the present companies. The only rights which the companies now possess are: first, the right to operate certain lines until the city shall acquire the same by purchasing the tangible property at an appraised value; and, second, the right to operate certain lines, chiefly in the outlying portions of the city, under definite term grants, most of which soon expire. As to the remainder of the system, the city has the legal right to order operation to cease at any time subject to no obligation whatever to purchase the tangible property. Whether the company in case the city exercises this right may remove the physical property from the streets has not been decided.

The improved situation puts entirely out of consideration any settlement along the line of negotiations carried on last year between the companies and the city council. It seems probable that, barring unforeseen obstacles, there will henceforth be a greater degree of co-operation than has hitherto been the case between the council and the mayor. The administration program embodied in a letter of April 27, 1906, from the mayor to Alderman Charles Werno, chairman of the committee on local transportation, has been for some time under consideration by the companies. The plan is supposed to have been formulated by Mr. Walter Fisher, special transportation counsel to the mayor, and probably one of the best informed men in Chicago upon the whole transportation situation. The plan provides:

- (1) Sale to the city of all tangible property and unexpired rights at a price to be fixed now.
- (2) Continued operation by the companies under a revocable license.
- (3) Reconstruction of the entire system upon plans adopted by the city with the concurrence of the companies.
- (4) Improved service to provide for:
 - (a) Unification of all routes.
 - (b) Through routes.
 - (c) Universal transfers.
- (5) Adequate assurance to the companies of the ultimate payment for present value of properties as now fixed, and for additional investments, whenever the city takes over the lines.
- (6) Fair return upon present and future investment, with some share of net profits.
- (7) Remaining profits to go to the city as a sinking fund for purchase of the properties.

The companies have already agreed to the principle of this plan, and on September 27 the prices demanded for the various properties were submitted to the council committee on local transportation. The Union Traction Company has set a price of \$29,294,472 upon its tangible property and \$13,825,040 upon its unexpired rights; a total of \$43,119,512. The City Railway Company asks \$20,103,936 for its tangible property and \$10,322,228 for its intangible rights; a total of \$30,426,164. This makes a grand total of \$30,426,676 demanded for present values. These valuations are considered much too large, and the city now has a committee of engineering experts, consisting of Mr. B. J. Arnold, Mr. L. E. Cooley and Mr. A. B. du Pont, examining the properties.

For the contingency of the failure of present negotiations, the mayor has again urged his so-called "contract plan," which was last year several times rejected by the city council. This plan contemplates the organization of a constructing company in the city's interest to proceed with construction or rehabilitation wherever the rights of the old companies have entirely expired. The company would be allowed a fair construction profit and interest on its investment until such time as the city should take over the lines, for a price agreed upon in advance. In case such an arrangement should not furnish sufficient inducement to capital, it is suggested that the investment could run for a definite term as a lien upon the property, the city having the right to take over, own, and

operate the lines subject to such lien. The other conditions would be essentially the same as those upon the basis of which negotiations are now proceeding with the present companies.

In any plan for rehabilitation the first problem which the enterprise has now to solve is that of finance. In case the present companies continue to operate, the magnitude of the problem will depend largely upon the valuation finally fixed upon for existing properties and rights. The present demands of nearly \$50,000,000 for tangible properties are about \$4,000,000 in excess of the highest estimated valuation fixed in Dr. Maltbie's summary of the Civic Federation report in 1901. This latter valuation of less than forty-six millions included inter-company obligations and non-productive as well as productive assets. Excluding obligations between the companies the valuation was less than thirty-five millions, and even that included a considerable amount of property fit only for the scrap heap. Although several lines have been added since that time, the older properties have greatly depreciated. It will probably not be seriously advanced that the properties as a whole have materially appreciated during the past five year period.

Evaluation of franchises is at best a rough estimate, but the demand of over twenty-four millions as compared with an estimated valuation of seventy-five million in 1901 would certainly seem not to make excessive allowance for the expiration of the 1883 extensions, the overthrow of the ninety-nine year act, and the passage and adoption of the Müller law. Whatever the present value, it is rapidly approaching the vanishing point. It seems probable that unless the companies accept a lower figure both for the tangible and the intangible properties no settlement with them will be reached.

As this paper goes to press events are happening which considerably clarify the negotiations. The legal tangles of the Union Traction interests seem to have been practically straightened out. All of the several interests involved in the various companies were, on October 18th, surrendered to the jurisdiction of Judge Grosscup's court, which it is said will adjust matters through the newly formed Chicago Railways Company. This company seems to be now in a position to negotiate with the city for the solution of the whole traction problem.

At a recent meeting in New York, at which Mr. John M.

Harlan, the defeated candidate for mayor, represented the court, satisfactory arrangements are said to have been made to secure the capital for rehabilitation. The attorneys for the companies give assurance that the plans outlined follow the principles of Mayor Dunne's letter to Chairman Werno. The principles of a revocable license upon six months' notice, of unified operation, with universal transfers, are accepted and embodied in an ordinance to be submitted at an early date to the city council. It is not possible at this writing to say what provision for the future building of subways is contemplated in the new arrangement. Negotiations seem at least to be pending on a satisfactory basis. The chief obstacles are likely to be the evaluation of present properties and the division of profits.⁶

Whether or not the developments of the last few months are in the direction of municipal ownership and operation no one can say. It is not improbable that with an improved service under the system of private operation with a revocable license the urgent demand for municipal operation would largely subside. In the present temper of public sentiment in Chicago, the continuance of decent relations between the operating company and the public powers will largely influence the trend of public opinion. It is safe to say that a policy of flagrant disregard for public interests cannot in the future be supported by the wholesale purchase of legislators and political organizations.

Many of the warmest advocates of municipal operation feel, in spite of the progress of the past few months, that the present mayor, with his almost fanatical devotion to municipal ownership as a

⁶Developments since the above paragraphs were written indicate that the legal obstacles in the way of endowing a new company with authority to negotiate for the solution of the whole traction situation have not been entirely removed. The Chicago City Railway, however, presented to the council committee on local transportation, on October twenty-fifth, an ordinance embodying the main features of the administration program. The plan contemplates the acceptance of a parallel and identical ordinance by the Union Traction Company. In case the latter company fails to accept the ordinance, the Chicago City Railway Company agrees to take both ordinances, and to establish one system for the whole city. In either case, unified operation is contemplated.

The ordinance provides for a subway system to be built by the companies in partnership with the city, the companies' investment therefore to be limited to five million dollars during the first five years. There is in the ordinance as drafted one essential restriction on the city which requires that in case the lines and equipment are purchased by the city within the first twenty years, the sale must be for cash, and the purchase must be made for the city's own use and operation. It is not unlikely that considerable changes will be made in the ordinance before it is finally passed. If the question of compensation for existing properties, and the question of the division of profits can be agreed on, other details are likely to be arranged.

principle, is himself a serious obstacle to its practical and permanent realization. The mere cry of "spoils" and "inefficient officers" should not, considering the baneful influence of party politics under private management of public utilities, determine the question of municipal, as over against private operation; nevertheless, the fundamental prerequisite to complete success in new and complicated fields of municipal enterprise is integrity and ability in the civil service. Barring the appointment of Mr. Walter Fisher and several excellent appointments on the board of education, the mayor has done little to reassure the public that under the present administration such a civil service as is needed is to be expected. The temporary suppression of the Dalrymple report, which merely emphasized the dangers to municipal ownership inherent in American political conditions, was at least an unhappy incident. Later actions of the mayor indicate a failure to appreciate those dangers; in his appointments to the most important positions, as well as in his attitude to the general problems of city government, he has seemed unable to free himself from the traditions of the organization politician.

To the person without theories concerning public or private ownership it seems to matter little whether the present agitation leads to municipal ownership and operation or not. The significant fact for those who are compelled to endure the transportation facilities now available is that some measure of substantial improvement is among the possibilities of the near future. By whatever method improvement comes, there seems to be little danger that the element of public service will be ignored.

On the other hand, there are few who believe that a really adequate service can be established by the rehabilitation and the unification of existing lines. The mere question of surface space in the down-town area presents a serious if not unsurmountable obstacle—an obstacle which even the unification of all surface and elevated lines would not remove. Such unification is not contemplated by any present plan. A number of excellent citizens who have interested themselves in the transportation problem from the start believe that the subway loop furnishes the only possibility of solution; they even go so far as to refuse co-operation in any other plan. In this connection, the lowering of existing tunnels under the river which has now been directed by federal statute, was repeatedly

deferred in the hope that the new tunnels might be made a part of a comprehensive subway system. All of these physical elements in the problem will doubtless postpone the establishment of a really complete system of rapid transit long after the present financial problems have been settled.

Questions of engineering and finance which the city government and future city governments will have to face are of tremendous importance to citizens of Chicago; beyond that they will be of scientific interest merely to engineers and to students of municipal institutions. To the importance of the social and political element in the history of Chicago traction during the past decade, no such limitations can be imposed. Though companies under one management continue, as far as fares are concerned, to be operated as separate lines, though the entire service is disconnected, inadequate and in every way indescribably bad, even though the present schemes for improvement should fail, it would still remain true that the situation has been unmistakably and immeasurably improved by the general public uprising.

Far more important than the positive hardships, even than the moral dangers, which the present miserable facilities entail; overweighing any academic contest between the policies of public and private ownership; not to be compared with the derived question of individualism or socialism—terms which for practical purposes are mere catch words denoting different degrees of the same thing—more fundamental than all these are the questions of citizenship. The expediency of adopting private or public ownership will depend very largely in every concrete case upon the probable influence of the one system or the other toward developing or discouraging, in the whole body politic, the highest type of citizenship. With active, able, unselfish, public-spirited citizens, utilities once recovered can be successfully operated under almost any system; in the absence of such citizens no system will adequately subserve the public interest.

Though Chicago has hardly more than started in the direction of wise and efficient government, the rebukes which decent citizens have repeatedly and persistently administered to a body of men and interests organized for plunder, have laid a foundation which will remain. The few men who have been instrumental in rescuing and regenerating the city council, who through various organiza-

tions have called the whole body of citizens to protect the interests of the public—these men have demonstrated in a way that cannot be misunderstood that democracy and citizenship are still vital forces in American public life. This is the incident in the relation of the public to the street railways of Chicago which will be of abiding importance.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF A REFORM MOVEMENT

BY FRANKLIN SPENCER EDMONDS, ESQ.,

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When a community is passing through the strain and stress of a reform wave, ordinarily the signs are to be found in the political legislation that may be the subject of controversy, or in the character of the individuals who become candidates for public office. These political effects are the direct and logical outcome of the popular attention which has been directed to the problems of government. Political change, of some sort, is the immediate subject of controversy; one side demands, and the other refuses; one group attacks and the other defends. And when the movement has attained unto its culmination, there results a general advance in political conditions that, for the time, may content the educated public sentiment which has inspired the movement.

But there are also social and business effects, just as logical as the political manifestations, although not directly the subject of controversy at the polls, and these too should be analyzed and studied. A reform movement is generally preceded by a period of political calm, during which conditions are quiet, static and reposeful. Generally this stage is characterized by the ascendancy of a well-organized party machine. It may safely be maintained that such an ascendancy, wholly regardless of the legislation which the machine may urge, or the methods whereby it maintains control, or the character of men whom it may select for office—disregarding these factors, important as they are—is un-American, and, in the long run, detrimental to the character of those who live under its sway.

Let us conceive of a political machine wholly benevolent in its activities, with a sincere desire for good laws, upright candidates and public approval. Such a condition is usually found during the first years of the history of the machine, when its early struggles necessitate a respectful recognition of the power of the people. The essential vice of the machine is at once apparent

—it is “government for the people,” but not “government by the people.” Its continuing tendency is to divide all citizens into two classes: politicians and others, the rulers and the ruled, the professionals and the amateurs. Now, the reformer admits the tendency in the industrial world towards specialization and division of labor; he recognizes, as must every sensible man, that in the professions and the arts each successful worker tries to limit his particular activity to but one field. But he insists, and this insistence lies at the basis of all reform movements, that in politics, as in religion, an active participation is demanded of each citizen, not necessarily because the mass can determine political questions more wisely than the professionals, but because activity in politics is essential to the complete education of the citizen; it is a part of the experience of the human race which one cannot acquire by proxy—it is the only efficient safeguard of free institutions.

In this distinction lies the fundamental distinction between the machine and reform. The former demands that the people shall not attack it so long as it is good; the latter demands, “not that the machine be good, but that it be gone,” because its mere existence is a continual temptation to the broad, easy, but wrong way of government.

If this argument be sound, it is not necessary to enter into the reasons for attacking the machine, when in the natural course of events it ceases to be benevolent and becomes selfish. Having obtained power, the next step is to secure the benefits of power. Then comes the sad tale of corruption and mismanagement which inevitably bring reform, as a natural reaction, coming first as public retribution for wrongdoing, and later asserting a better and higher way of transacting public business. Sometimes in its turn the reform movement becomes a machine, and must be attacked. Sometimes the old machine, chastened and subdued, but filled with a marvelous vitality, is able to regain its footing. Whatever the sequence, the world has advanced, conditions have improved, and public life will never again return to its former state.

It is, therefore, evident that the chief social good which results from a political upheaval is to be found in the stress which such a movement rightly causes to be placed upon the political importance of the individual. A reform campaign is necessarily based on gen-

eral education in political methods. Herein lies the distinction between a reform movement and a factional fight. In the latter, the band of trained workers is separated into two camps, and then there is a battle for the supremacy. But in the former, new men—citizens, business men, those who follow the professions and the arts—first educate themselves in the methods of politics and then take their place as fighters in the ranks. It is not too much to say that in Philadelphia, as a result of the recent upheaval, there are now twenty thousand citizens who know how to organize primaries, conduct elections, canvass divisions, serve in conventions, etc., who two years ago would have been absolutely helpless, and hence ineffective in any political affair. This diffusion of political knowledge, wholly aside from the purposes to which it is applied, cannot but mean a great advance in social power.

As a necessary corollary to this first consideration under a reform movement the individual citizen finds his natural political position stronger and more important. Under the static conditions of machine rule, a routine is developed, and rare indeed is the man who can break it down. Promotion, political recognition, and influence come primarily, if not indeed wholly, as the result of loyalty to this established routine. The prime qualifications for one who seeks advancement is that he will "take orders." Now a reform wave establishes a dynamic condition of society. Politics are thrown into confusion, and the routine breaks down. Leaders who have long held power because of the existence of a political routine in which they have become parts of the machinery, find themselves obliged to stand alone without this artificial support. In a day a leader may be relegated to oblivion, because his strength under static conditions becomes an irredeemable weakness under the pressure of progress. It cannot be denied but that this sluffing off of old leaders is a great social good, especially as it affords opportunity for new men, identified with new ideas and in touch with new conditions, to come to the front. Any change in social conditions which will free individuals from routine is to be welcomed, especially as it affords an opportunity for strong men to assert and prove their strength.

Moreover, a political upheaval furnishes a rare opportunity to present new ideas in legislation, and to secure their enactment. When the political pulse is excited, when the people generally are

watching closely the course of events, the shrewd leader will use every means in his power to convince the community that he himself is no obstacle to progress. It is amazing to consider the character of laws passed sometimes in obedience to public sentiment. The Pennsylvania legislature of 1905 passed the Ripper Bill and refused personal registration. Twelve months later the same body of men repealed the Ripper Bill and enacted personal registration with enthusiasm and alacrity. Under such conditions the social reformer has at last his innings. He may urge the consideration of a bill to establish his particular ideal, and his arguments and protests may fall upon deaf and mocking ears, but when reform comes, not only the reformers, but also his previous opponents, join hands to do him honor, each seeking to secure the advertisement and the prestige which comes from aid given to a worthy cause.

In a general way, therefore, a reform movement first educates the people; second, re-forms the lines, giving more opportunity to the individual to find his proper rank; and, third, opens an easy way for new ideas to be made effective in legislation.

In considering the effects upon general business life, a variety of forces operates to cause confusion. Many business men condemn the frequency of elections and deprecate the absorption of their fellows in the business of society, rather than in their individual affairs. Moreover, their business may bring them into intimate relations with the departments of government, and they may even prefer the static conditions dominated by a well-oiled machine to the uncertainties which attend a reform movement. It is easier to make a contract with a despot than with a mob, and those who furnish the public utilities are among the loudest in their protest against the futility of reform. Even the average business man, who has nothing to do with governmental contracts or franchises, is apt to resent a movement in which, in order to satisfy his own conscience, he must take time and money from his own work and invest them for the social welfare. "I shall do no more for reform," declared a prominent business man who had been a leader in a successful movement. "I find that it is cheaper for me to keep to my own work and pay higher taxes. I will make more money in the long run." This individualistic point of view is, beyond all question, representative of the attitude of a large group of business men. But there is a far larger number, generally younger men, who cannot content

their consciences with this comforting sophism and also who enjoy politics as an avocation, rejoicing in its strain and stress, the power that it brings and the training that it necessitates. This latter group illustrates the reformer's point of view by asserting the principle that every man must take from his business sufficient time to enable him to attend to the business of society, or else free government is impossible.

Reform has been found to be commercially profitable. The alert business man recognizes, in any improvement in the conditions of the society in which he works, an excellent advertisement for himself and his business. It is better for the salesman if he come from a community where the people have a reputation for enlightenment than for ignorance. It is better for him to represent a community that is alert and active rather than one debased and slothful. It was stated by a Philadelphia manufacturer who, because of his views on national political issues, had been inactive in local contests, that since the political upheaval of 1905, his salesmen reported to him that in traveling through the West they found a greater esteem for Philadelphia and a more complete recognition of their own ability. There can be no question but that this increased appreciation is a direct and valuable business asset. It is possible, however, that a reform wave, especially if it be founded upon the criticism of the existing provision of public service utilities, may pass beyond the bounds of business prudence and thereby cause a disturbance in the financial market, from which far-reaching results may follow. Some of the municipal reform movements have been based upon the belief in public ownership of such utilities. As a natural result of this theory the vested financial interests have everywhere opposed reform and attacked its representatives. Under these circumstances the triumph of the reform movement would necessarily affect stock values and possibly produce economic disturbances. But where the reform movement is based upon the general desire of the body of the people for participation in the business of government, where it follows the lines indicated in the earlier part of this article, there need be no disturbance of business conditions except as is caused by a change in the individual program of each business man.

It is noteworthy that many of the men who entered public life as the exponents of reform have continued in politics as the parti-

sans of machine rule. This would suggest that possibly the chief advantage of a reform movement is to be found in the overturning of existing conditions and hence in the opportunity that is afforded to each man to find his own niche. However long the reform movement may continue, its results are first measured by the legislation which it secures. But in the long run, the test of its success must be found in its effect on the character of the people. If it finds the people sunk in political sloth, and leaves them in the same general condition, then, even if a body of legislation has been enacted, it will not be long before political conditions are as bad under the new laws as they were previously under the old. It does not take long for the skilled politician to devise a means of evading reform laws. Indeed, some claim that reform legislation always harms the reformers more than their ingenious opponents. If, therefore, the only effects are political, the social advance will not be great. But if the reform movement has taught the people their rights and trained them to become active participants in the political battle—if it has revealed to them the mysteries of political technique, so as to save them from being duped—then the effects will be felt through all time to come, not only in the political arena, but in the aggressive spirit which, being once quickened, will be manifested in every phase of life.

ELECTION REFORMS: THE TREND TOWARD DEMOCRACY

By J. C. RUPPENTHAL

[Address delivered before the Bar Association of Kansas. Printed from the report of the Association with the consent of the author.]

Broadly speaking, election is simply choice. In a narrower sense, the term is limited to the choice of persons for political offices, or for nomination to such offices, by the people, or by a somewhat numerous body as distinguished from appointment by a single person; or the determination of other questions submitted by law to popular vote.¹

This paper seeks to present the general features of American laws in the nature of election reform, in the narrower sense, with especial reference to the decisions of the highest courts thereon.

When the thirteen original American colonies revolted against the mother country, their government was essentially that which had been evolved in a thousand years of struggle and conflict in England. But in details, there was as wide divergence as could well be imagined among people of practically common origin, race, religion and language. With the more permanent union under the federal constitution came an impulse to conform much governmental procedure to a common standard. Especially was this true in the matter of elections.² After one hundred and thirty years of trial and change, nearly all of the states vote on the same day, choose representatives in Congress, and presidential electors, as well as most other officers in the same manner, and do not differ very widely in methods of voting. The qualifications of electors are somewhat diverse, though probably less so than at the beginning, and everywhere the right of suffrage has been widely extended. The period of active assimilation to common standards lasted to the

¹ See 10 Amer. and Eng. Encyc. Law, p. 562.

² The people have no inherent power to hold elections. 10 A. and E. Enc. Law, p. 563; State v. Robinson, 1 Kansas 17; Jones v. State, 1 Kan. 273; State v. Thoman, 10 Kan. 191; Matthews v. Shawnee Co., 34 Kansas 606.

time of the civil war. Then the universal, extended and heated discussion of human rights, the fury of partisanship, the passions engendered in the great internecine conflict, the adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and following all this, the expansion of the nation in wealth and power, together with the accumulation of colossal fortunes and the growth of corporate importance and influence—all led to the trial and testing of the most fundamental and long-established rights of man, while every new measure in law, has had to run the gauntlet from the preliminary proposal in caucus, convention, primary, or elsewhere to the final decision thereon in the highest judicial tribunal. There was no final judicial inquiry into the right of suffrage until in 1857 in New York, and in 1859 in North Carolina; but such became numerous in the reconstruction period. From questioning new rights of black men, it was a short step to attacking old rights of white men.

How the matter of popular elections has grown in importance may in a degree be illustrated by the court decisions. The syllabi up to September 1, 1896, in all state and federal cases affecting elections, occupy 553 columns of a digest; and for the eight and a half years immediately following, up to April 1, 1905, 396 columns are so filled.³ Seemingly nearly four-fifths as many points relative to the elective franchise have been passed on in less than a decade, as in the earlier one hundred and twenty years of free government. Except in one instance,⁴ no question reached a court of last resort prior to 1890 on such matters, as the Australian ballot, factional nominations, and nomination papers, while in that year four such cases were decided in the New York court of appeals alone, and others in Montana and Missouri.

In the earlier, simpler, primitive days, an important aim was the securing to each state its rights, real or fancied; latterly more attention has been given to the rights of the individual to an effective share in government from its beginning in primary election, caucus, convention, or otherwise, within a party or without it, and continuing until his wishes are at last crystallized in the form of laws, and to protection against fraud, violence and intimidation while exercising the prerogatives of an enfranchised citizen. Not

³American Digest.

⁴Kentucky, 1889, on the Australian ballot for City of Louisville.

unknown are instances of denying rights already possessed, and restricting privileges long exercised.⁵ There has been tyrannical suppression of individuals and classes. But the sweep of the years, though slow-moving, has been in consonance with the Declaration of Independence—"to secure these rights (to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness), governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In the recent movement for election reforms, four lines of advance are marked: First. To secure the voter, by protecting him from evil influences, as is the object of the various "corrupt practices acts," and kindred laws, or by guarding him against fraud, intimidation and overawing, by means of an absolutely secret ballot, as under the Australian system; and by preventing as with voting-machines, any manipulation of ballots or count.⁶ Second. To extend the franchise by reducing the qualifications of electors, and so making suffrage more nearly universal, as in the fifteenth amendment, and the laws enabling women to vote. Third. To increase popular control over officials and their acts, and over law-making, and over the initial steps in making nominations, as in making offices elective instead of appointive, in adopting the initiative and the referendum, and the recall, and in prescribing legal forms for primary elections and making nominations. Fourth. To secure more equitable representation of every individual, class, party or interest; to avoid the despotism of a majority, or, worse yet, a plurality; and to prevent the practical effacement of minorities.

1. To preserve the purity of elections, many states have "corrupt practices acts" forbidding the purchase of votes, directly or indirectly, by candidates, committees or others, with money, intoxicating liquors, cigars, promise of office, or otherwise. Some limit the amount of expenditures of candidates,⁷ others require detailed sworn statements of campaign outlays to be publicly filed.⁸ President Roosevelt in at least his last two messages urged Congress to enact stringent laws to prevent bribery and corruption in federal

⁵ In 1835 North Carolina adopted a new constitution which took from free negroes the right to vote, which they had enjoyed from 1776.

⁶ Incidentally venality is much discouraged by the uncertainty whether the vote-seller carries out his promise to "deliver the goods."

⁷ Kansas Laws 1903, ch. 230, emasculated its corrupt practices law of the power to require sworn statements of expenses.

⁸ Campaign expenses before the primaries are limited in Ohio and California.

elections, and to secure publicity of the expenses of candidates, parties and committees, and of the sources of contributions.⁹

Voting was doubtless at first *viva voce*. In some states, particularly in the South, elections were so conducted for many years, and in Kentucky this was in accordance with a constitutional provision.¹⁰ For a number of reasons, however, voting by ballot was adopted in all the states, either originally, or superseding the *viva voce* method.¹¹

The written or printed ballot was gradually perverted to such degree that in 1857 the legislature of South Australia adopted an official secret ballot, printed and paid for by the public, and wholly controlled and handled by public officers. The idea was speedily carried to England, spread over continental Europe, and at a somewhat later date reached the United States, where in some form, almost everywhere modified, it has become part of the electoral machinery in every state under the name of Australian ballot.¹² On

⁹ In England and Canada similar laws have been enforced with great strictness, but in the United States, they are, in no inconsiderable degree, dead letters. A prosecution in North Carolina under Code, sec. 2715, which makes it a misdemeanor to injure, threaten, oppress or attempt to intimidate a voter at any election, was held properly quashed, where it appeared that the defendants expelled a voter from the church of which they were members, because he voted the Democratic ticket at a certain election. The court said that the voter had suffered no pecuniary loss, personal injury, or physical restraint by his expulsion. (1901) *State v. Rogers*, 128 N. C. 576; 38 S. E. 34. It can scarcely be doubted that in some denominations where membership is very highly regarded, excommunication for political reasons might become a potent engine of oppression and intimidation.

¹⁰ Const. Ky. art. 8, sec. 15: "*viva voce* vote in all elections." *Viva voce* vote is common in legislative assemblies. In Michigan and elsewhere, recent laws governing political conventions, require *viva voce* vote by delegates to make sure that they vote as instructed. Kentucky Stat. 1899, sec. 4467, provides for a vote on graded common school tax, which has been construed (1903) to require a *viva voce* vote. *Sisk v. Gardiner*, 74 S. W. 686. Voting in town meetings is often by the voice, and also in school district meetings of the western states.

¹¹ In 1871 Congress made it obligatory to use written or printed ballots in electing representatives to Congress. Election by ballot implies the right to secrecy. (1871) *William v. Stein*, 38 Ind. 89, followed by the courts of Minnesota and New Jersey.

¹² Except in Massachusetts, St. Paul, Minnesota, and perhaps a few other places, "the trail of the serpent is over them all," in that the original form of the law has been modified to promote the interests of party, and the selfish schemes of politicians, and to hamper rather than aid, the expression of the popular wish. The original Australian ballot was a narrow slip on which the names of all candidates were printed, alphabetically or in other proper sequence, under the heads of the several offices to which they aspired. There was no "blanket sheet," nor corrals for parties, nor kindergarten pictures. An Ohio court well said: "The purpose of the Australian ballot law is to secure to the elector the exercise of that invaluable right, the elective franchise, and to protect him from fraud, mistake, or

first test in American courts the system was held to be unconstitutional, but it has later been sustained almost everywhere as being merely regulative.¹³ The tendency of these laws has been to make elections more formal and less flexible. Changes on the ballot and "scratching" are no longer possible with the ease of the old private ballot system. But, in general, the voter's choice is not restricted to the names printed on the ballot.¹⁴ Constitutional guaranties of secrecy are not impaired by those clauses which permit aid by election officers, to the disabled or illiterate, in marking the ballot.¹⁵ In some states, as Tennessee and Maryland, illiterates are indirectly or partially disfranchised by laws which permit aid only to persons

the misapprehension of the judges of election." *State v. Conser*, 24 Ohio C. C. R. 270.

¹³ The Kentucky act of 1888 for Louisville was held void because illiterates were left unaided, when the constitution says "all elections shall be free and equal." (1889) *Rogers v. Jacobs*, 88 Ky. 502. "The legislature within the terms of the constitution may adopt such reasonable regulations and restrictions as may be deemed necessary to prevent intimidation, fraud, bribery, etc., provided that the voting be by ballot and that the person casting his vote may do so in absolute secrecy." *Taylor v. Bleakley*, 55 Ks. 1. See also *Morris v. Bd. Com. City of Charleston*, (W. Va. 1901) 38 S. E. 500; holding valid code 1899, ch. 3, sec. 34, though it requires the voter to scratch out the name of candidate not wanted and to write in another if desired.

¹⁴ The contrary is the rule in England and some at least of her colonies where only regular nominees are eligible to the office, and a person whose name is not on the official ballot would not be declared elected, though receiving a majority of votes. 10 Am. and Eng. Encyc. Law, 633. Some American states incline to the English rule, among them South Dakota, which passed a law permitting only printed names of candidates to be placed on the official ballot. The constitution of South Dakota, art. 6, sec. 10, provides that elections shall be free and equal, and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage. Art. 7, sec. 1 states the qualifications of an elector and declares that one possessing these qualifications shall be deemed a qualified elector at any election. The constitution makes no further provision as to the exercise of the right of suffrage. It was held that the legislature was not inhibited by the constitution from passing an election law requiring the names of all candidates to be certified according to law and to be printed on an official ballot, thus in effect denying the right of writing on an official ballot the name of a candidate which has not been properly certified. *Chamberlin v. Wood*, 15 S. D. 216; 88 N. W. 109, Fuller, P. J. dissenting strongly. (1901) The decisions growing out of the several statutes on the Australian ballot would make volumes. But they have largely to do with minor details, and with parasitic engraftments for partisan purposes. Hundreds of pages, for example, are occupied with discussions of the angle at which lines should meet or cross, to constitute an X, and the nature of marks to make them invalid as distinguishing marks. In all this lawmakers have shown a strong disposition to establish the reverse of Sir Phillip Sidney's observation that "Laws are not made, like nets, to catch, but, like sea-marks, to guide." Two or more states have squarely decided that it is unconstitutional to restrict the voter to the printed names on the ballot. *State v. Dillon*, 14 Southern 383, (Fla.); *Sauner v. Patton*, 155 Ill., 553.

¹⁵ Const. New York, art. 2, sec. 5; *People v. McDonald*, 52 N. Y. S. 898 (1896).

"that by reason of blindness or other physical disability" are unable to mark their ballots.¹⁶ These laws have been sustained in the highest courts.¹⁷ Regulations, if not too difficult, in the opinion of the court, are upheld, and likewise provisions that require a party¹⁸ to have cast a certain percentage of the vote at the last preceding election before it may be entitled to an official ballot.¹⁹ Even forcing a citizen to choose between voting under an obnoxious party heading or not at all, is, at least in New Jersey, viewed as no deprivation of his rights.²⁰

In a number of states voting machines, which automatically register the voter's choice, have been authorized, and to some extent used.²¹

¹⁶ "Dortsch law," Tenn. Acts 1890, ch. 24, sec. 16. The court says: "This does not necessarily require the voter to be able to read and write, since the fact that he cannot do either one does not necessarily render him unable to mark the ballot." *Moore v. Sharp*, 41 S. W. 587.

¹⁷ Maryland act of 1901, ch. 2, is assumed, but not decided, to be constitutional in *Summerson v. Schilling*, 94 Md. 591; 51 Atl. 612 (1902).

¹⁸ What is a party? A Philadelphia case says: "A combination of electors to be entitled to be called a party and to have a place on the official ballot must have polled two per centum of the highest (total) vote cast at the preceding election, and its object must be of general concern and as broad as the state itself." (1898) *In re Obj. Citizens' Party*, 1 Dauph. Co. R 328. "There may be the prescribed number of votes cast at the preceding election to constitute the aggregation a political party, but if the body does not avow a dogma or doctrine which invites support from the community at large and not a section or fragment of it, (as the co-operation of elements without a platform), it is not a political party within the legislative intent." *In re Jeffries*, 3 Dauph. Co. Rep. 291; *In re Randall*, 24 Pa. Co. Ct. Rep. 529. The supreme court of Pennsylvania, however, took a broader view, saying: "Any combination of electors with sufficient organization to act together for a common purpose and which organization has polled two per centum of the highest vote at the next preceding election, is a political party within act of June 10, 1893, sec. 2 (P. L. 419), and entitled to put nominations on the ballot by certificate." *Independence Party Nominations*, 208 Pa. 108; 57 Atl. 344. Such party may make nominations for county elections, though it claims to be Democratic on national issues. *Ib.*

¹⁹ "The regulations prescribed by West Virginia Code, ch. 3, sec. 34, as to preparation of the ballot for the exercise of the constitutional right to vote, are reasonable and do not abridge or unduly impede the exercise of such right, although by disregarding them the voter disfranchises himself, provided such regulations are plain and may be easily observed. (1901) *Daniel v. Simms*, 49 W. Va. 554; 39 S. E. 690. Requiring a certain percentage of the total vote is pronounced a valid regulation to keep the number of ballots to be printed and distributed, within reasonable bounds. *Ransom v. Black*, 65 N. J. Law, 688. (1900).

²⁰ *State v. Black*, 54 N. J. Law 446; *Ransom v. Black*, 65 N. J. Law 688.

²¹ In Rhode Island Pub. Laws 1900, ch. 744, sec. 1, cities and towns were forbidden to change to the old methods after adopting a voting machine. But a year later this was modified, and change was forbidden to be made within thirty days of an election. R. I. Pub. Laws 1901, ch. 859, sec. 3: *In re Voting Machines*, 50 Atl. 265. Ohio act 1902 (95 Ohio Laws 420) provides for voting machines on the

At this point mention may be made of compulsory voting, which has been seriously discussed as advisable to bring out otherwise good citizens who are apathetic as to their civic responsibilities. In 1898 the people of North Dakota adopted a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to impose a penalty for failure to vote.²²

2. Although the theory of the Declaration of Independence is broad, the practice as to the "consent of the governed" was decidedly limited at the time of the Revolution, and the ruling power in at least some of the states was vested in so few persons as to be oligarchic rather than popular. Property qualifications were often essential to the right of suffrage. These no longer exist in any state.²³ Also age, race, sex, citizenship, residence and payment of taxes determined a person's eligibility either to vote or to hold office, or both. A higher age is set generally in Europe, but in America twenty-one years is universally accepted as marking maturity for voting purposes. Race distinctions were wiped out by the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. Religious tests were always few, and are probably wholly abolished, the last effort being to bar Mormons in Nevada about twenty years ago, but held unconstitutional. Sex is no longer considered in Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Colorado. While only males are fully enfranchised in the other states, suffrage has been given to females in many matters, particularly municipal and school. Only American citizens may vote in a large number of states, but in others aliens also who have declared their intentions to become citizens by nat-

petition of electors of a precinct, but mandamus will not compel the purchase of such machine if funds are not on hand to pay for the same. See *State v. Bd. Elec.* 24 Ohio C. C. R. 654 (1903). See Kansas Laws 1901, ch. 184, authorizing the use of voting machines.

²² The latter part of sec. 127, Constitution of North Dakota, as adopted in 1898, reads: "The legislature shall by law establish an educational test as a qualification (to vote), and may prescribe penalties for failing, neglecting or refusing to vote at any general election." So far the legislature has not availed itself of the authority given to punish those who do not vote.

²³ The constitution of Idaho specifies that no property qualification may be required of a person to vote or hold office, except in school elections and elections creating indebtedness. *Wiggin v. City of Lewiston*, 69 Pac. 286. But property qualifications are retained in many cases in matters concerning taxation. "A property qualification is not void where it provides that those who pay for improvements shall determine whether they shall be made. Such voting does not constitute an exercise of the elective franchise so as to be void for reason of property qualifications." (*California*, 1897), *People v. Reclamation District*, 48 Pacific 1016.

uralization have full rights. In an anomalous position are Porto Ricans and Filipinos who are neither citizens nor aliens.²⁴ Residence where the elector offers to vote is always required, usually a year or more in the state, but sometimes less; and a shorter time in the county and voting precinct, or city and ward.²⁵ The extreme mobility of our population, so different from conditions in the Old World, or even earlier America, has led to a feeling that, in some way, the good citizen should be enabled to express his choice in national elections, though for any reason he may have moved from one state to another shortly before election; likewise that he save his vote for state and district officers and measures, though crossing county lines; and on county matters, though removing from precinct to precinct.²⁶ An effort to avert this temporary disfranchisement was made in Kansas by a law²⁷ permitting railroad employees to vote where their occupation happens to take them on election day. The payment of taxes has long been a pre-requisite to casting a ballot in Pennsylvania²⁸ and other eastern states. In the South, this requirement, as well as educational qualifications,²⁹ appears to gain ground.³⁰

²⁴ A native-born Porto Rican cannot vote until naturalized, and there is no law to permit his naturalization. (1900) *People v. Bd. Inspec.* 67 N. Y. S. 236.

²⁵ "A person, though not in either the army or navy, cannot by long continuous residence on a United States reservation, acquire the right to vote at a state election in the county where the reservation is situated." (1897, South Dakota.) *McMahon v. Polk*, 73 N. W. 77. "A steamship clerk, living on the vessel and having no other residence, gains no voting domicile at the steamer's home port." (Maryland 1898) *Howard v. Skinner*, 40 Atl. 379. Nor can the steamer's purser change his voting domicile by residing on the vessel. (Md.) *Jones v. Skinner*, 40 Atl. 381.

²⁶ A restrictive law is Maryland Acts 1902, ch. 133, p. 204, (Code Pub. Gen. Laws, art. 33, sec. 25b) which provides that no person coming into the state from any other state shall be entitled to register as a voter until one year after his intent to become a legal voter shall be evidenced by an entry of intention, made in a record book to be kept by the county clerk. This is held by both state and United States supreme courts to be no denial of constitutional rights. *Pope v. Williams*, 56 Atlantic 543; affirmed by United States Supreme Court, *Pope v. Williams*, 191 (or 192) U. S. —; 24 S. C. R. 573.

²⁷ Kansas Laws 1901, ch. 180. The employee may vote where convenient, and the ballot is sealed up and transmitted to the clerk of the county of his residence. This law has never been passed upon by the supreme court.

²⁸ Paying a tax, when none has been assessed, will not qualify to vote. (1900) *Coudersport Registry list*, 23 Pa. Co. Ct. Rep. 419.

²⁹ Constitution of Wyoming, art. 6, sec. 9: "No person shall have the right to vote who shall not be able to read and write the constitution of this state." This means English, and not a translation into a foreign tongue. *Rasmussen v. Baker*, 50 Pacific 819. (1897.)

³⁰ Arkansas 1901, sustained in *Whitaker v. Watson*, 68 Ark. 555. The constitution of Louisiana, 1898, makes payment of a poll tax of one dollar per year for

3. The extension of the subjects of popular decision has been most marked, and the drift is increasingly in that direction.³¹ A further innovation, rapidly growing, is the expression of a wish or preference by the electorate where such vote is merely advisory and not binding. Office after office, once appointive, is made elective, and when so gained by the people is never surrendered again.³² In 1776-1783 only Georgia, among the colonies, elected judges. To-day thirty-one states elect them. Then scarcely a governor was chosen by the people. At first presidential electors were named in a variety of ways.³³ But by 1832 the right had everywhere been yielded to the people. The very many resolutions of amendment offered in Congress providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote, the passage of such measures repeatedly by the House, and the persistent, reiterated requests for this reform by various legislatures, all show a deep-seated popular desire.³⁴

Scarcely had America copied from Australia her ballot system when, becoming adept as Rome in absorbing from surrounding nations, she borrowed from the Swiss the Latin terms *Referendum* and *Initiative*, although the principles thereby expressed are as long established on this continent as English settlements. For centuries among Germanic peoples there has been a steady transition of power. The right to petition the crown grew into legislation. Final

each of two years preceding the year in which he offers to vote, a prerequisite. *State v. Cain*, 52 La. An. 2120; 28 South 226. The spread of these educational and tax qualifications seems oftener inspired by a desire to disfranchise certain classes indirectly than by an honest conviction of the need to pay taxes or ability to read and write, as essential to good citizenship.

³¹ Bryce says, "The Americans tend more and more to remove legislation from the legislature and entrust it to the people."

³² Within seven years past the people of Kansas have taken to themselves the election of superintendent of insurance, railroad commissioners and state printer—the latter from the legislature, the others from the governor.

³³ Many states chose presidential electors by districts; some, as New York and South Carolina, by the legislature; in Pennsylvania by the judiciary; in Massachusetts the people named a number of candidates, and the legislature was limited to these in choosing the electors. (See the Connecticut plan for representatives in Congress about this time.) The district system was abandoned about 1832, and thereafter all states have chosen electors directly on a general ticket—"at large"—except that in 1892, Michigan temporarily reverted to the district plan.

³⁴ The constitution of Nebraska, adopted in 1875, provided that voters should be allowed "to express by ballot their preference for some person for the office of United States senator." This optional clause seems not to have been productive of results, if not, indeed, wholly ignored by the legislature, even when resorted to by the people.

power was transferred from king to parliament,³⁵ and now in turn it is passing from the legislative branch directly to the electorate.

None of the colonial charters, except those of Pennsylvania, had any provision for amendment,³⁶ and of the original states only Massachusetts and New Hampshire submitted their constitutions to the people for ratification. By 1787 provision for amendment hitherto wholly lacking in all state constitutions, unless Pennsylvania's, was added to eight of them.³⁷ The custom of amending constitutions by popular vote arose, and is now established in every state except Delaware. Thus changing the organic law, upon legislative initiative, has become commonplace. The next step—to permit the people themselves to initiate the change,³⁸ and finally for them to ratify or reject, and even to propose important laws—was slower of acceptance. Switzerland began this revolution in free government in 1830, and by 1848 had the principle embedded in its federal constitution.³⁹ About 1886 discussions of the Swiss institutions, and especially the initiative and referendum,⁴⁰ as seen by American students abroad, began to appear in leading American journals and magazines.⁴¹ In 1898 South Dakota amended its constitution by adopting a provision for initiative⁴² and referendum. In 1900 Utah

³⁵ Even the veto power of the British sovereign is only theoretical.

³⁶ Provision for amendment was made in the government of Pennsylvania from the first in the following instruments: Frame of Government, 1683; Frame of Government, 1696; Act of Settlement, 1683; Charter of Privileges, 1701; See Ames' *Amends. to U. S. Const.*, Amer. Hist. Assn. Rpts. 1896, vol. 2, p. 13.

³⁷ Three states gave the power to the legislature, and five reserved amendments to conventions. Amer. Hist. Assn. 1896, *supra*.

³⁸ At the first session of Congress in 1860-61 Senator Crittenden made five different proposals to take the sense of the people on certain amendments to the constitution, then offered in view of the domestic difficulties which were swiftly leading to civil war. In 1869, Davis, of Kentucky, proposed in Congress that the fifteenth amendment, and all future amendments, be submitted to popular vote—a majority of votes in three-fourths of the states to be necessary for adoption.

³⁹ As an example of great questions determined by the people, note the Referendum, on Sunday, February 20, 1898, to the people of Switzerland, on the question: "Will you accept the federal law of October 15, 1897, for the purchase and administration of the railways by the Federation, and for the organization of Swiss federal railways? Yes. No." Carried by a vote of 384,148 (though lost some years earlier) to 177,130 against.

⁴⁰ Also, Prof. A. V. Dicey, of Oxford University, wrote for the *Nation*, in 1886.

⁴¹ In Montana the question will be voted on in 1906. In Missouri, in 1904, a very complicated initiative and referendum amendment was voted down by a small majority. It had been purposely amended into an intricate and unworkable form by its enemies.

⁴² The Initiative is thus defined in Article 29, of the canton of Zurich: "The right of voters to make proposals (the Initiative) is the right to demand the adoption, abrogation or modification of a law. * * * When an individual or

followed this example. In 1902 Oregon, by the decisive ratio of eleven to one in the popular vote, adopted the most clearly expressed section yet developed in our country. In 1904 Nevada added a similar feature to the organic law.⁴³

In April, 1901, the matter of an initiative and referendum amendment first reached a supreme court, coming up in South Dakota, regarding acts to take immediate effect, passed under the emergency clause of the amendment. The court held that the legislature is sole judge as to what laws are "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, or support of the state government and its existing institutions."⁴⁴ The fundamental

a political body presents a proposal of this sort and it is supported by one-third of the members of the council it shall be submitted to the people for final action. * * * Likewise every proposal signed by 5,000 voters, or adopted in a certain number of communal assemblies by 5,000 voters, must be laid before the people whenever the cantonal council does not agree with it." The constitution of South Dakota says: "The people expressly reserve to themselves the right to propose measures." The Oregon constitution says: "The people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws." Utah's constitution says: "The legal voters (or a part thereof designated by the legislature) may initiate any desired legislation.

⁴³The Referendum is defined in the Oregon constitution, thus: "The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the Referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety) either by petition signed by five per cent of the legal voters, or by the legislative assembly as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the Referendum is demanded. The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people."

⁴⁴State v. Bacon, 14 S. Dak. 394; and 404; 85 N. W. 605. The legislatures of 1899 and 1901 in South Dakota attached emergency clauses to about one-half of their acts. The South Dakota amendment reads: "The legislative power of the State shall be vested in a legislature which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, except that the people expressly reserve to themselves the right to propose measures, which measures the legislature shall enact and submit to a vote of the electors of the state, and also the right to require that any laws which the legislature may have enacted shall be submitted to a vote of the electors of the state before going into effect (except such laws as may be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety or support of the state government and its existing public institutions. Provided, that not more than five per centum of the qualified electors of the state shall be required to

principles involved were not questioned on either side. But in December, 1903, the initiative and referendum amendment was directly attacked in the supreme court of Oregon, and unanimously sustained. The court, per Bean, J., said: "Nor do we think the amendment void because in conflict with sec. 4 of art. 4, of the constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to every state a republican form of government. Now the initiative and referendum amendment does not abolish or destroy the republican form of government, or substitute another in its place. The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place. The government is still divided into legislative, executive and judicial departments, the duties of which are discharged by representatives selected by the people. Under this amendment, it is true, the people may exercise a legislative power, and may in effect veto or defeat bills passed and approved by the legislature and governor; but the legislative and executive departments are not destroyed, nor are their powers or authority materially curtailed." Although the question of the nature of laws initiated, or otherwise adopted by the people, upon reference to them, was not directly before the court, it⁴⁵ said: "Laws proposed and enacted by the people under the initiative clause of the amendment are subject to the same constitutional limitations as other statutes and may be amended or repealed by the legislature at will."⁴⁶

Concerning that clause in the amendment which says: "The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people," the court held that this applies only to bills actually referred to the people, and not to all that might be referred, and that all acts not submitted to a referendum may be vetoed.⁴⁷ The

invoke either the initiative or the referendum. * * * The veto power of the executive shall not be exercised as to measures referred to a vote of the people. This section shall apply to municipalities." * * *

⁴⁵ *Kadderly v. City of Portland*, 74 Pacific 710; — Oregon —.

⁴⁶ The legislature of Wisconsin seemed to take a similar view, as in 1905 they amended the primary ballot law which had been adopted by popular vote in 1904.

⁴⁷ *Kadderly v. City of Portland*, 74 Pac. 710. This case follows that of South Dakota in holding that whether an emergency, under the constitution, exists, is solely a question for the legislature, and its determination final and binding on the courts. But whether the constitutional amendment itself was properly adopted and thus became part of the constitution is "always a question for the courts." *Ibid.* Under the Nebraska statute the signers for either initiative or referendum must

Utah and Nevada amendments have not been tested in court. Indeed, that of Utah is not self-executing, and the legislature has not yet enacted a method of procedure to give it effect. The South Dakota amendment specifically applies to municipalities as well as the state. Nebraska in 1898 enacted a general initiative and referendum statute for counties, townships, cities, villages and school districts.⁴⁸

Since the time when "popular sovereignty" was a party shibboleth in the free—or slave—state controversy so many matters are frequently,⁴⁹ if not habitually, submitted to a vote, that such course no longer excites comment.⁵⁰ The charter of Greater New York

constitute fifteen per centum of the voters, while in South Dakota only five per cent is needed, and in Oregon eight per cent may initiate and five per cent may refer. Nebraska further requires a special election if twenty per cent of the voters request it. It has also a provision that where there is popular initiative the local legislative body may suggest amendments to the popular measure, and that both the measure and the amendment must be placed on the ballot. Unless a majority of votes are against both the popular measure and the legislative amendment the one receiving most votes becomes law.

⁴⁸Arizona has also a municipal initiative and referendum statute. Brookline, Mass., a city of 20,000 population, has governed itself for nearly 200 years upon the popular referendum principle.

⁴⁹Local option in the matter of permitting the sale of intoxicating liquors is perhaps the most familiar example. Such laws are not unconstitutional as delegation of legislative power. In *re O'Brien*, 76 Pac. 196 (Mont.). Other subjects of popular referendum are: laws relating to live stock, fences, public buildings, bridges, boundaries of counties, etc., issue of bonds, location of county seats, disposing of public property, aiding public improvements such as railroads, wells, mines, canals, etc., with gifts of subscription to the capital stock, police and fire departments, franchises for street railways, (in Nebraska), consolidation of contiguous cities, etc.

⁵⁰In Kansas, the first legislature (1855) made no provision for popular initiative or referendum: But at the second session (1857) "An act to Incorporate the City of Atchison," (L. 1857, ch. 190, p. 264), in section 3, reads: "Provided, that a special election shall be first held in the said town of Atchison to take the sense of the qualified voters thereof, upon the question whether they will accept the charter of incorporation hereby conferred upon them or not. At said election, polls shall be opened at the usual place of voting in said town, which shall be headed as follows, respectively: "Charter." "No Charter." The special session of 1857 (third session in the state) referred the Lecompton constitution to the people. The legislature of 1859 referred the questions of counties borrowing money, and the location of county seats, and also whether or not to call a constitutional convention. In 1860 bond issues were referred to the people in four acts, and county boundaries in one act. The last territorial legislature, in 1861, passed two acts allowing the people to vote on county seats. The first state legislature, in 1861, referred the banking law, the location of the state capital, a constitutional amendment, and matters of county seats. Later referendums were: In 1862, two acts; in 1863, two acts; in 1864, bridges (two acts), jail, buying railroad stock, school bonds, county buildings, railroad bonds, county seats, and sale of the state's school lands. Thereafter at every session this has been done, and in the acts of 1905 no less than twenty-two times does the referendum appear, and the initiative fifteen times. In 1897 the resolution to submit an initiative and referendum amendment to the

was adopted upon a referendum, which method has become the rule rather than the exception in giving charters effect. Within the charters themselves, the Initiative and Referendum appears with increasing frequency.⁵¹

Many of the earlier acts referring matters to the people were assailed as unconstitutional on the ground of delegating legislative power to the people. The diverse decisions on the subject cannot be reconciled. Beginning with Delaware in 1847 and continuing to as late date as 1902, (in Ohio) various courts have pronounced such laws invalid.⁵² On the other hand, the supreme court of Louisiana decided flatly in 1853 and again in 1854 that conditional legislation, to take effect upon popular approval, is not unconstitutional.⁵³ Then began some subtle and attenuated "distinguishing" among decisions.⁵⁴ Many courts came round to the position that "while the legislature cannot delegate its power to enact laws, it may provide that whether or not a law enacted shall be operative,

Kansas constitution lacked only eight votes in the House of the necessary two-thirds required to pass it. It required fifteen per cent of the voters on an initiative petition.

⁵¹ Charters of San Francisco, Los Angeles, etc. Three states permit from five to eight per cent of the people to petition for a new charter. In five states cities are allowed to frame their own charters, restrained only by the state and national constitutions. The initiative petition in cities varies from five per cent in one city in Washington state, to fifty-one per cent in a Virginia city.

⁵² Delaware, Pennsylvania, California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, New York, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah. 10 Amer. Dig. c. 1393, also *State v. Garverm*, 66 Ohio St. 555; 64 N. E. 573. "The enactment of a law so that a provision of it might be partially suspended by a vote of the people of a municipal division of the state, is equivalent to a law made to take effect only upon being adopted by a vote of the people, and therefore void." *Meshmeier v. State*, 11 Ind. 484. *Laws of New Hampshire 1879*, ch. 4, to provide for minority representation in corporations, directed the first section to be submitted to popular vote—held, unlawful delegation of legislative power. *State v. Hayes*, 61 N. H. 264.

⁵³ The Louisiana court said: "The act of March 12, 1852, authorizing police corporations to levy taxes for works of internal improvement, if approved by a majority of voters who are to bear the burden, is not inconsistent with the spirit of representative government, nor repugnant to the constitution." *Police Jury v. McDonogh*, 8 La. Ann. 341; *New Orleans v. Gralble*, 9 La. Ann. 561.

⁵⁴ The supreme court of California said: "Although a statute may be conditional, so that its taking effect may depend upon a subsequent event (say, a popular approval), yet this event must be one which shall produce such a change of circumstances that the lawmakers in their own judgment can declare it wise and expedient that the law shall take effect when the event shall occur." *Ex parte Wall*, 48 Cal. 279; 17 Am. Rep. 425. The changing attitude of courts suggests Pope's lines:

"Be not the first by whom the new is tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

may be made to depend upon the popular will."⁵⁵ An interesting fact is that the courts in the southern states invariably upheld reference to the people, and that adverse decisions are very numerous in the north.⁵⁶ A peculiar referendum was attempted in Massachusetts, but was declared unconstitutional. The act provided for submitting the question of extending municipal suffrage to women, but by a special section allowed the women to vote on the proposition of their own enfranchisement.⁵⁷ Where there are constitutional clauses requiring some matters to be referred to the people, the rule of *expressio unius est exclusio alterius* has been invoked in opposing the submission of other laws to the people, but in vain.⁵⁸ The failure of the proper officers to provide for taking a vote at the first election after the passage of a referendum law, cannot defeat the will of the people, or deprive them of the option of acceptance or rejection. Until accepted by popular vote, the law takes effect only for the purpose of submission, and at a later election mandamus

⁵⁵ Massachusetts approved the referendum in 1826, in *Wales v. Belcher*, 20 Mass. 508, but later weakened in its position. Other approving courts are those of California, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin and the United States circuit courts. See 10 Am. Dig. c. 1393. The Missouri court, in trying to distinguish between valid referendums and invalid delegation of legislative power, expressed itself more clearly perhaps than any other court, in these words: "Statutes creating municipal corporations, or authorizing them to incur obligations, may be referred to a vote of the district immediately affected. But the legislature must enact a complete and valid law according to prescribed usages; and it must derive its whole vigor from the legislature and no added efficacy from the popular vote." *Lammert v. Lidwell*, 62 Mo. 188.

⁵⁶ North Carolina act, March 11, 1901, authorizing a county to erect a court house, when ratified by the people, is not thereby invalid as a delegation of legislative authority, as such ratification is merely a condition precedent. *Black v. Comrs. Buncombe Co.*, 129 N. C. 121; 39 S. E. 818. Alabama act, March 5, 1901, to change the boundary line between B. and C. counties, is not invalid as a delegation of legislative power, because not operative until approved by a two-thirds vote of the electors of the affected district. (1902) *Jackson v. State*, 31 So. 380. So with Mississippi act requiring a tax proposition to be submitted to the voters of the district proposed to be taxed. *Alcorn v. Hamer*, 38 Miss. 652 (1858).

⁵⁷ *In re Municipal Suffrage to Women*, 160 Mass. 486.

⁵⁸ The constitution of Michigan, art. 15, sec. 2, requires all bankruptcy laws to be submitted to the people. But this does not by implication forbid other laws to be so submitted. (1854) *People v. Collins*, 3 Mich. 343. The constitution of Kansas, art. 6, sec. 5, provides that school lands may be sold only after being authorized by a vote of the people; and art. 13, sec. 8, requires all banking laws to be submitted to the people. Whether these provisions bar other referendums does not seem to have been decided so far.

will lie to require the officials to hold the election properly.⁵⁹ In 1900 a movement began in Australia to make it obligatory to refer the matter to the people in case of a deadlock between the two houses on any bill or resolution.

The latest development of the principle is the advisory referendum and advisory initiative. As the name indicates, these simply show to the legislative and executive departments the will of their constituents, and no legal obligation rests upon the officials to give form to the popular expression. In 1901 Illinois enacted a "public opinion law."⁶⁰ Delaware has pending a constitutional amendment to establish the advisory initiative and referendum. In 1905 Texas enacted a very interesting experiment in the way of a primary election law, which not only provides for nomination of candidates by direct vote, but contains provision for the use of the initiative and referendum within party lines to direct party policy and determine what principles shall be promulgated in the party platform. Many city councils have voluntarily resorted to this method of learning the people's will.⁶¹ In Buffalo, in the fall of 1905, three questions were to be so submitted. But the commissioner failed or refused to put the questions upon the voting machines at the proper time. Mandamus was brought in the supreme court. Thereupon Justice Krause granted the writ on one question—that relating to public ownership of a light and power plant by the city, but denied it on the other two, saying as to these: "They involve questions of legislation over which the city council manifestly has no power. Indeed, their very purpose is not to furnish information for the guidance of

⁵⁹Albright v. Sussex Co. Lake and Park Co., 53 At. 612 (New Jersey, 1902).

⁶⁰Under the Illinois law, ten per cent of the voters of the state, or twenty-five per cent of a municipality may propose any question of public policy, not exceeding three at one time, and have them submitted to popular vote. Under this, the remarkable referendum have been held in Chicago concerning the municipal policy toward ownership of street railways. In November, 1892, the legislature of California referred the question of election of United States senators by popular vote, and the vote being favorable, the legislature passed a resolution and sent it to Congress.

⁶¹Among them Buffalo, Detroit, Toronto and others. Cleveland's city council has submitted to vote the matter of granting franchises to two light, heat and power companies, and also the question of location of a high level bridge between east and west side of the city, giving opportunity for choice among three localities. Buffalo had taken an advisory referendum in 1904, and tried to submit three matters in 1905. The one which reached the people was adopted by a vote of five to one in favor of city ownership.

the local authorities; but they are peculiarly matters for the legislature."⁶² ⁶³

When the federal constitution was submitted for ratification, many of the conventions in the several states, dissatisfied with certain features of, and more often with omissions in, the new instrument, offered amendments. These were numerous and varied, and some were later adopted. In New York and Rhode Island the conventions offered an amendment for the recall of United States Senators at the will of the legislature and the substitution of others. In 1803, and again in 1806, the Virginia legislature passed resolutions in support of such amendment for recall.⁶⁴ A revival and much broader application of the principle has lately been seen. In 1903 the city of Los Angeles, Cal., amended its charter by popular vote, and in addition to the initiative and referendum, it placed in the people's arsenal another powerful weapon, the recall.⁶⁵ A few words in the charter clearly define the recall.⁶⁶ In the special election in

⁶²The question was: "Shall the City of Buffalo own and operate an electric light and power plant?" Justice Krause's upholding the right to refer the question without special statutory or constitutional authority, said: "Why may not the governing body take the opinion of its voters on the question, and adopt reasonable measures for obtaining that opinion? While in most instances public hearings and information disseminated through the public press and otherwise, may be adequate to enable the governing body to determine the question, yet it is not difficult to conceive a question of such magnitude and importance as to make it entirely proper and very desirable to take the opinion of the voters by a direct vote on the proposition, and it may well be that the question of municipal ownership of a lighting plant is of that character, and in that event it would seem that adequate power was given in the general welfare clause of the charter to provide for such a vote as incidental to the primary object." 9 Law Notes 168, Dec., 1905. It has been suggested that the council may properly consult an electrical engineer for expert advice (and pay him), and why not consult the people themselves?

⁶³The forms of referendum here discussed have been either legislative or petitional (the initiative), whether in optional, or advisory, or obligatory and mandatory forms, and whether general or local. But the executive or judicial departments might refer matters to the people too.

⁶⁴Early senators often felt a keen sense of responsibility to their constituents, and of obligation to express the people's wish. Several resigned, unwilling to follow instructions of the legislature, and too conscientious to vote their personal sentiments in defiance of the legislature. John Tyler resigned in 1836 rather than vote for the famous "expunging resolution," as instructed by the legislature of Virginia. Senator White, of Tennessee, resigned, 1839-40, because the legislature censured him, a Democrat, for having voted with the Whigs on some measure.

⁶⁵Ratified and approved by the legislature of California, January 23, 1903. In Switzerland the recall has also been used, and is sometimes called the "imperative mandate."

⁶⁶Los Angeles charter, sec. 198c: The holder of any elective office may be removed at any time by the electors qualified to vote for a successor of such incumbent. The procedure to effect the removal of an incumbent of an elective office

September, 1904, a councilman whose course in voting for two certain ordinances was not approved by his ward, was defeated by another candidate. The incumbent then petitioned the supreme court for a writ of mandamus to compel the rest of the council and city government generally to recognize him for the remainder of his term. Without deciding the point, the court assumed the validity of the recall amendment, but sustained the petitioner on the ground that the procedure in calling the special election was not quite regular. Even on this point Chief Justice Beatty dissented. In an inferior court, the matter had come up in another form, and Judge Ostler decided against the incumbent, holding that the recall amendment is not obnoxious to either the state or federal constitution, that it was not necessary to make charges in the petition for election, but simply to make statements of reasons to enlighten the public; that the officer had no property in the office nor vested right to hold to the end of his term; that it was no contract, but a mere agency, terminable at any time by the principal, the sovereign people.⁶⁷

shall be as follows: A petition signed by electors entitled to vote for a successor to the incumbent sought to be removed, equal in number to at least twenty-five per cent of the entire vote for all candidates for the office, the incumbent of which is sought to be removed, cast at the last preceding general municipal election, demanding an election of a successor of the person sought to be removed, shall be filed with the city clerk; provided, that the petition sent to the council shall contain a general statement of the grounds for which the removal is sought. * * * Within ten days from the date of filing such petition the city clerk shall examine and from the great register ascertain whether or not said petition is signed by the requisite number of qualified electors, and, if necessary, the council shall allow him extra help for that purpose. * * * If, by the clerk's certificate the petition is shown to be insufficient, it may be amended within ten days from the date of said certificate. * * * If the petition shall be found sufficient, the clerk shall submit the same to the council without delay. If the petition shall be found sufficient the city council shall order, and fix a date for holding the said election, not less than thirty days nor more than forty days from date of clerk's certificate to council that a sufficient is filed. (Election shall be held as other city elections.) The successor of any officer so removed shall hold office during the unexpired term of his predecessor. Any person sought to be removed may be a candidate to succeed himself, and unless he requests otherwise, in writing, the clerk shall place his name on the official ballot without nomination. * * * In any such removal election, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. At such election if some other person than the incumbent receives the highest number of votes, the incumbent shall thereupon be deemed removed from office upon qualification of his successor. * * * If the incumbent receives the highest number of votes, he shall continue in office."

⁶⁷Other cities also have adopted the Recall. In Los Angeles, the incumbent was J. P. Davenport, and in the Recall election he was defeated by Dr. Arthur D. Houghton by a vote of 2,338 to 1,584, the district being the Sixth ward. In the

With the general adoption of the Australian ballot, whether pure or modified,⁶⁸ a certain rigidity and official formality was introduced, which makes independent action,⁶⁹ or the rejection of "regular" party candidates, however unworthy they be, increasingly difficult.⁷⁰ This put a premium upon the control of conventions, and

supreme court Davenport contended that the Recall is unconstitutional—"has no place in the general system of the American form of representative government and undertakes to give a part of the people in their primitive capacity the power to make laws, which resides only in the legislature," also that "the Recall, even if valid, could not be retroactive and could not apply to the petitioner, who had been elected and installed in office before the amendment went into effect at the date of its ratification by the state legislature." *Davenport v. City Los Angeles*, 80 Pac. 684. April 5, 1905. Beatty, C. J., dissenting, said: "The people of Los Angeles have chosen to make an experiment in municipal government by applying to municipal business a principle and practice which obtains universally in the conduct of private affairs. They propose to appoint their agents, not absolutely for any fixed term, but for a term of two years, subject to the condition that their authority may be revoked whenever they have forfeited public confidence by any failure of diligence, or lack of capacity in dealing with the matters confided to their discretion. The success or failure of this experiment is exclusively an affair of the people who have chosen to make it, and if it is not an infringement of the constitution, it is the business of the courts to let it have a fair trial. If found to involve evil consequences, no doubt it will be repealed, but in the meantime its policy or impolicy is a question with which courts are not concerned." 80 Pac. 6883.

⁶⁸ Only Massachusetts and a few places like St. Paul, Minn., have the real "fraud-proof" Australian ballot, in which the candidates' names follow each other on the narrow ballot, in alphabetical or other regular sequence, under the names of the respective offices—all candidates for governor, for example, are under the heading of governor. There is no "blanket ballot," nor party columns, nor displays of poultry and other emblems.

⁶⁹ The lengths that men have gone to in attempting to force voters to adhere to a party is indicated partially in the case of *Guter v. Scott*, 2 Dauphin Co. Rep. 93 (a Pennsylvania common pleas case, 1899), wherein the court, to protect a voter in his independence, said: "A member of long standing in a political party does not lose his membership by merely signing a nomination paper for a candidate of another party, nor by occasional voting for one or more candidates of another party."

⁷⁰ Minnesota Gen. Laws 1901, ch. 216, sec. 9, prohibits a candidate who has sought nomination from a political party at a primary election, and has been unsuccessful, from having his name printed on the official ballot as an independent candidate for the same office. The court said that this is a reasonable regulation, since the blank space enables him to be elected if the requisite number of qualified citizens vote for him; that the law is not obnoxious to Const., art. 7, sec. 7, providing that any person entitled to vote is eligible to office; that the constitution does not guarantee the candidate to equal advantages in all practical conditions, nor prohibit the legislature from imposing on him fair and reasonable restrictions in soliciting support at the polls. The legislature may recognize the existence of political parties, and regulate within reasonable limits the means by which partisan efforts should be protected. *State v. Moore*, 87 Minn. 308; 92 N. W. 4. Missouri act Feb. 5, 1897, sec. 4796g, forbids the nomination of a delegation to a convention by a body of twenty qualified electors if twenty others have already nominated such delegation. "The statutes of North Dakota contemplate that only nominations made by a convention representing a political party or principle shall be

party machinery, and the naming of party candidates by whatever means.⁷¹ To secure a fair, untrammelled expression of popular will in the initiatory step of making nominations, a system of primary election laws has been evolved, and now exists in almost every state.⁷² The early forms applied where parties voluntarily in primary elections made nominations sometimes of candidates by direct vote, but more often only of delegates to conventions, all under party management and control, subject to such public laws; the later forms are mandatory, requiring all parties to nominate candidates, or delegates, at an official primary election under public control. The usual course of evolution has been to hold primaries for naming delegates, and then to assume the nomination of all candidates without the intervention of delegates.⁷³ About 1879 or 1880 a primary election law was enacted in Kentucky,⁷⁴ but no obligation was imposed on any party or per-

filed with the secretary of state to be certified to the proper county auditors." (1900) *State v. Falley*, 9 N. D. 450; 83 N. W. 860. In several states laws were passed aimed against the "fusion" of different parties upon candidates, and forbidding the name of any candidate from appearing in more than one place or column on the ballot. In some instances this has gone to the length of requiring an unqualified falsehood to be printed upon the ballot in the words, "No Nomination," if a candidate were nominated by a second party or endorsed. See Kansas' law. In California it has been held unconstitutional to forbid a name from appearing in more than one party column. (1902) *Murphy v. Curry*, 70 Pac. 461; 137 Cal. 479. In North Dakota it has been held constitutional and reasonable to limit a candidate's name to one column, when he was nominated by a single party and also by petition. Rev. Codes, 1899, sec. 491; *State v. Porter*, 100 N. W. 1080. (1904) See *Com. v. Martin*, 20 Pa. Co. Ct. Rep. 645 (1897). See *State v. Metcalfe*, 100 N. W. 923 (S. D. 1904) on rival candidates for same office in the same party. On intra-party contests, see *State v. Houser*, 100 N. W. 964, Wis. 1904.

⁷¹ For example, in *re Clinton Co.*, 48 N. Y. S. 407 (1897) describes the arbitrary control of a convention: 600 voters came to a room that would not hold over 200. One faction got the room, and more than half the voters were unable to get in. The "in" faction chose delegates *visa voce*, and adjourned in ten minutes. Then the others came in, elected a chairman, called to order in the same room, and a vote by ballot was taken for delegates, all voters being given opportunity to vote. It was decided that the delegates elected by the second organization were the "regular" delegates. Such examples have become frequent, as well as "packed caucuses," "snap calls," and stricter rules and tests till but a few of a boss's henchmen are "the party."

⁷² Primary election laws seem to be of purely American origin.

⁷³ The irresponsible nature of delegate conventions has been strongly depicted by Governor La Follette, of Wisconsin, in his messages and elsewhere.

⁷⁴ For many years parties, especially the Republicans, in various counties of Kansas, voluntarily nominated county candidates by direct vote, calling this the "Crawford county system."

sons to nominate candidates⁷⁵ by primary election.⁷⁶ In 1895, almost simultaneously, several states adopted compulsory primary laws⁷⁷ limiting their operation at first to one or several large cities,⁷⁸ and later extending them over the state in either a mandatory or an optional form. So widely do these enactments differ that it is hard to deduce general statements of their features. Many have been upheld, and not a few overthrown. There has been a general tendency to substitute mandatory for optional laws. After a bitter fight, extending over a series of years, Wisconsin, by a majority of over 50,000, adopted a mandatory primary election law in 1904 that provides for nomination by direct vote of almost all officers⁷⁹ from the smallest up to candidates for United States Senators,⁸⁰ by all par-

⁷⁵ The principles of primary control have been generally upheld as constitutional. *Matter of House Bill No. 203*, 9 Colo. 631; *State v. Jensen*, 89 N. W. 1126 (Minn., 1902); "Primary elections are so far matters of public concern that they are, at the discretion of the legislature, proper objects of reasonable statutory regulation under the police power." *Hopper v. Stack*, 56 At. 1 (New Jersey, 1903).

⁷⁶ Kansas passed a primary law in 1891.

⁷⁷ Massachusetts, 1894; California for San Francisco, and in 1897 extended over state; Wisconsin for Milwaukee, and in 1897 extended over state; Michigan; Minnesota for Minneapolis. The Wisconsin law was mandatory on cities over 10,000 population, and optional elsewhere; but its laws of 1903 and 1905 are mandatory everywhere. The California law, sec. 1368 Pol. Code, is mandatory in certain cities, and no convention can be recognized as in law entitled to make nominations unless the delegates thereto were elected under the provisions of said law. This applies to parties which at the last election polled three per cent of the entire vote of the city (sec. 1186). *Ellis v. Wheatley*, city clk., 81 Pac. 1105 (1905). Oreg. Laws, 1901, cities of 10,000 population and over.

⁷⁸ Where corrupt and arbitrary control was most apparent and most dangerous, Indiana Acts, 1901, p. 475, is a primary election law for all counties with a city of over 50,000 population which casts 10 per cent of the total vote. *State v. Elliott*, 63 N. E. 222.

⁷⁹ Excepting school superintendents and the judiciary.

⁸⁰ Governor Robt. M. La Follette, in his message to the Wisconsin legislature of 1901, after urging the passage of a primary election law, giving his reasons therefor, expressed his view of the trend of affairs in these words: "A decade will leave scarcely a trace of the complicated machinery (of the caucus and convention) in existence in any state in the Union." A primary law was passed in 1903, and was submitted to popular vote in 1904. It has been slightly amended in minor matters in 1905, and at the special session of 1905, December. The Australian ballot system is used. Each voter is given a ballot of each party, all securely fastened together in a bunch. In the secrecy of the booth the voter abstracts his party ticket from the bunch, votes it, folds it and the unused ballots, hands each to the election officers, who drop his ballot into one box and the unused ballots into another. The latter box is emptied at once at the close of the polls and its contents destroyed without examination. A plurality of votes is required for a nomination. Two or more bills, following Governor La Follette's recommendations, were introduced in the legislature at the special session of December, 1905, providing for a majority vote to nominate, and securing the same by a preferential ballot, on which the voter should indicate his first and second choice by Arabic numerals,

ties upon the same day at the same polling places and with the same election officers, who are publicly chosen from the two leading parties in the state.⁸¹ In 1900 California expressly recognized the primary election by a constitutional provision, and empowered the legislature to prescribe conditions on which voters may participate in such elections.⁸² The constitution of Mississippi, section 247, declares that the legislature shall enact laws to secure fairness primary elections. Where the primaries are official and mandatory, all expenses are paid by the public,⁸³ where they are voluntary cost falls on the party holding them.⁸⁴ Myriads of questions have arisen out of these elections, and legislatures have sought in a variety of ways to solve them. The proclivity of some voters to take part in all primaries⁸⁵ has been an ever-present problem in

instead of X, after the names of candidates, but they were all lost by small majorities.

⁸¹ New York has an "Annual Primary Day" for all parties, Laws, 1898, ch. 179, amended by Laws, 1899, ch. 473. Committeemen for the parties are also chosen then, and so, too, in Wisconsin. *People v. Kings Co.*, 168 N. Y. 639; 61 N. E. 1133. Also California laws of 1895 and 1897.

⁸² In pursuance of this authority, the legislature of California has provided that voter at the primary election must declare his *bona fide* present intention of supporting the nominees of such political party at the next election, and if challenged, he must swear that it is his intention to support the nominees of the convention to which delegates are to be chosen at such primary election. Pol. Code, sec. 1367, *Rebstock v. Sup. Ct. of San Francisco*, 80 Pac. 65. Act 1898 (93 Ohio Laws, p. 93), sec. 7, provides that papers to secure the nomination of candidates for public office shall contain a provision that each signer thereto pledges himself to support and vote for the candidates whose nominations are therein requested. Such law is not void as a restriction of the right of suffrage, since it operates uniformly and impartially on all classes of electors, and interposes no unreasonable impediment to the right to vote. *State v. Poston*, 59 Ohio 122; 52 N. E. 196.

⁸³ "Primary elections may be held under supervision of the public, at public expense." *Ladd v. Holmes*, 66 Pac. 714, construing Oregon session laws 1901, p. 317. Such laws are not invalid on the ground that taxpayers may have to contribute to the support of a party of which they do not approve. (1902) *Com. v. Rogers*, 181 Mass. 184; 63 N. E. 421, construing stat. 1898, c 548.

⁸⁴ Some laws permit the party officials to withhold a nominee's name from the ballot at the general election, or to refuse to certify it to the public officers, unless he first pay his share of the expenses of the primary. *Kentucky stat.*, sec. 1564. *Montgomery v. Chief*. 82 S. W. 388.

⁸⁵ This evil is not confined to primaries. A number of states have forbidden voters to sign nomination papers of more than one candidate for the same office, as in Kentucky; also Rhode Island Gen. Laws, 1896, ch. 11, sec. 13, which requires further that the voter himself subscribe such papers. For another to sign his name will not suffice. *Atty. Gen. v. Clarke*, 59 At. 395. Where a person joins in the nomination of a candidate when he has theretofore joined in the nomination certificate of another candidate, his signature to the second papers must be disregarded. (1903) in *re Smith*, 85 N. Y. S. 14, requiring a voter to declare his intention to support the nominees of the party in whose primaries he wishes to vote, is pronounced, in California, to be "absolutely essential to the proper workings of

those states that permit the several parties to hold their primaries at different times and places.⁸⁶ Where it is entirely optional with a party whether or not to nominate by primaries, having decided affirmatively, the party must conduct such election strictly in accordance with the statutes.⁸⁷ The first primary laws made past acts the test of qualification to take part in a party primary election.⁸⁸ But later laws incline to accept future intentions instead,⁸⁹ while New Jersey, at least, requires both faith and works.⁹⁰ Kentucky's court has held that the constitutional provisions relating to elections do not apply to primary elections, but most courts that have considered the subject take the opposite view.⁹¹ Massachusetts holds that a primary

any primary law. By the mere offer to vote for delegates to a convention of any party the elector does in effect declare his intent to support the nominees of such convention, and the oath is provided for as a guaranty of the truth of the declaration already made by such offer to vote. * * * Such law is not in violation of Const. art. 2, sec. 5, which says that 'all elections by the people shall be by ballot or by such other method as may be prescribed by law, provided that secrecy in voting be preserved.' " *Rebstock v. Sup. Ct.*, 80 Pac. 65.

⁸⁶ Massachusetts stat., 1898, ch. 548, sec. 91: "No person voting at the caucus of one political party shall be entitled to vote or take part in that of another within the ensuing twelve months." (1902) *Com. v. Rogers*, 181 Mass. 184.

⁸⁷ Kentucky stat., 1903, ch. 41, art. 12; *Brown v. Republican Co. Exec. Com.*, 68 S. W. 622; *Young v. Beckham*, 72 S. W. 1092; *Mason v. Byrley*, 84 S. W. 767.

⁸⁸ "A legislative provision that the voter at the primary election shall make affidavit that at the last general election at which he voted, he voted for a majority of the candidates of the party with which he is proposing to act, violates no constitutional right of such voter." (New Jersey, 1903) *Hopper v. Stack*, 56 Atlantic 1. Under one Kentucky act each voter was asked at registration for the general election, "Do you wish to register for the purpose of participating in the primaries of the political party with which you affiliate?" He did not need to answer, but if he did, the answer was recorded, and the next year he could vote only as he had chosen the year before. Wisconsin's acts of 1895 and 1897 were simply for the election of delegates at the primaries. Any voter must be freely allowed to take part, but if challenged, must swear that he voted at the last election for the party with which he seeks to act. New York, in 1898, provided for enrolling as members of a party, the year before the election, but required the voter's choice to be kept secret by the election officers until after such later election.

⁸⁹ Massachusetts was the first state to make future intentions the test. Under California's laws of 1895 and 1897 the elector could vote for any one party that he stated upon oath he intended to support. Before the change in the constitution, a California law (Acts 1897, p. 115) regulating primary elections, and providing an oath that the voter intended to support the nominees selected by the delegates chosen at such primary, as a test of his right to vote thereat, and debarring certain classes of legal citizens, was held unconstitutional, as special legislation. *Calif. Const.*, art. 2, sec. 1; *Spler v. Baker*, 52 Pac. 659.

⁹⁰ New Jersey Laws, 1904, ch. 241.

⁹¹ Const. Kentucky, sec. 6, providing that "all elections shall be free and equal," has no application to primary elections. (1904) *Montgomery v. Chelf*, 82 S. W. 388. But the contrary view is expressed in California and Oregon. *Calif. Acts*, 1897, p. 115, limited the right to vote at primary elections to persons whose "names appear on the great or precinct register of the county at the last general election."

law is not unconstitutional in authorizing printing on the ballots the names of candidates presented by a certain number of voters if blanks are left for the insertion of the names of other candidates not so presented.⁹² But Minnesota denies this poor boon to voter and candidate, and says that no blanks need be left in which to write a name.⁹³ In many instances only parties casting a certain percentage of the total vote are privileged to avail themselves of the mandatory laws, and such limitation has been upheld where ample provision is made for nominations in other ways by the minor parties.⁹⁴ In some of the laws the procedure is minutely detailed;

This was contrary to Const. art. 2, sec. 1. The act also permitted to vote at the primaries all persons naturalized thirty days and over, while the constitution says ninety days. For both reasons the act was void.. Oregon Laws, 1901, p. 317, prescribed the way to select at a primary election delegates to nominating conventions. The court said that the act does not conflict with Const. art. 2, sec. 1, guaranteeing that "all elections shall be free and equal." *Ladd v. Holmes*, 66 Pac. 714. "Nor does limiting the right of party electors to voting at their respective party primaries" conflict with Const. art. 2, sec. 2, that "qualified electors shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law." *Ib.* 66, p. 714.

⁹² Mass. stat., 1898, ch. 548; *Com. v. Rogers*, 63 N. E. 421 (1902).

⁹³ *State v. Johnson*, 91 N. W. 604; 840 (Minn., 1902). Mississippi sustains as constitutional Laws 1902, ch. 66, p. 105, whereby candidates, in order to have their names on the official ballot, must have been nominated at a primary election. *McInnis v. Thames*, 80 Miss. 617. Where a primary election law provides for nominations of candidates for certain offices, it has been held that it repeals by implication all other methods of party nomination to such offices, whether by convention or otherwise. *State v. Jensen*, 89 N. W. 1126 (Minn., 1902). But a contrary view has also been expressed. *State v. Stafford*, 97 N. W. 921; 1043, Wisconsin, 1904, construing Laws, 1899, sec. 41. In conventions whose delegates are nominated by primary election, no proxies can be recognized unless specifically authorized by law. Ky. stat., 1903, *Mason v. Byrley*, 84 S. W. 767; *Montgomery v. Chelf*, 82 S. W. 388. Nor may proxies act upon committees. *Ibid.* The order of a political committee permitting to vote at a primary election all youths who would come of age before the general election, has been disapproved by one court; but it added that such votes would not invalidate the election as to a person who was not a candidate thereat. *Montgomery v. Chelf*, 82 S. W. 388, Ky.

⁹⁴ N. Y. Laws, 1899, ch. 473, sec. 13; *In re Wood*, 74 N. Y. S. 403. This law requires a party to cast three per cent of the total vote. So with the Calif. Pol. Code, secs. 1357-1375. Oregon Sess. Laws, 1901, p. 317, sec. 25 denies the benefits of the act to parties falling below a certain vote, but permits such to make nominations in other ways, and hence is not in conflict with Const. art. 1, sec. 20, prohibiting special privileges to any class of citizens, "since the act is but a reasonable regulation of larger parties, designed to safeguard the privileges of electors thereof, and is not an infringement of the rights of minority parties." *Ladd v. Holmes*, 66 Pac. 714. "Though it also prescribes a test for party affiliation, and directs the manner of electing committeemen, and fixes their term of office, it is not an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of political parties, nor an infringement of the rights of the people peaceably to assemble to consult for the common good, and prohibiting the impairment of rights and privileges retained by the people, under Const. art. 1, sec. 26 and 33, but is merely a regulation of party management designed to secure to the voters a free expression of their will." *Ibid.* If a party is required to have three per cent of the entire vote of the state to entitle it to a

others are very brief and general. Some leave much to the party rules and machinery already in existence, or that may be provided, and even expressly declare that the party's rules shall govern in matters not provided for in the law.⁶⁵ While the provisions of a primary

place on the ballot to be used in the primary election for delegates, it is then entitled to a place on the congressional district ballot, though not casting three per cent of the vote of such district. Pol. Code, Calif., sec. 1357-1375. (1904) *Gaylord v. Curry*, 78 Pac. 548. There are some sinister indications of attempts to throttle absolutely very small minorities and of utterly preventing the formation of new parties. See 89 Ohio Laws, p. 434, sec. 6, in which certificates of nomination of candidates for public office must be made "by a convention, committee, meeting of qualified electors, primary election held by such electors, or central or executive committee representing a political party that at the last preceding election polled at least one per cent of the entire vote cast in the state. This has been held not repugnant to any provision of the constitution. (1898, *State v. Poston*, 51 N. E. 150 Ohio). The California courts seem to have stood firm against the oppression of minorities. Primary Elec. stat. 1899, p. 47, was held to conflict with Const. art. 1, sec. 21, which denies to any citizen or class of citizens any privilege or immunity which on the same terms shall not be granted to all citizens. Said law "provided an exclusive scheme controlling all political parties in holding their conventions for nominating candidates to public office, but denied the benefits of the act to parties that did not cast three per cent of the total vote at the last preceding election." The court said, "this statute not only discriminates between political parties, but works the disfranchisement of voters, or compels them, if they vote at all, to vote for a representative of a political party other than that to which they belong." *Britton v. Bd. Elec. Comrs. City and Co. of San Francisco*, 129 Calif. 337; 61 Pac. 1115 (1900.) Further, the court held that the law contravened, "art. 1, sec. 10, Const., giving the people the right 'to assemble together to consult for the common good,' also art. 1, sec. 11, providing that all laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation, since it discriminates as above stated." Also, that "such law requiring primary elections of all parties to be held at the same time and under the control of the county board of election commissioners, and providing for the use of but one ticket at such election, which is received by the intending voter without question as to his political affiliation and taken into the privacy of a booth, where he may name such delegates as he desires to, one or another of the political parties, whether he is a member of the party or not, is an unwarranted invasion of the rights of political parties and an innovation of the rights reserved to the people by Const. art. 1, sec. 23, providing that the rights enumerated shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the people." *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ But if a county committee decides to hold a primary under the law, the state committee of the same party cannot forbid such county election; and "equity will restrain the state committee from removing the county committee and from appointing a new committee, and from attempting to prevent the holding of the primary election called by the county committee." *Neal v. Young*, 75 S. W. 1082, (Kentucky, 1903). Nor will the court enjoin holding a primary election called by a committee of the party pursuant to Ky. stat., art. 12, sec. 41, *Meachem v. Young*, S. W. 1094. (1903) Nor may the governing committee of any party question the eligibility of any candidate before the primary and refuse to place his name on the ballot. *Young v. Beckham*, 72 S. W. 1092 (Ky., 1903). To reject candidates is left to the voters of the party. Where a state committee decided to elect its members at the general state primary under the same election commissioners and clerks that the law provides, the parish committee could not legally add commissioners to act with the state's commissioners in the election, and such

law may apply only to general elections, seemingly to the exclusion of special elections, it is not therefore a special law within the constitutional meaning of the term,⁹⁶ and in all elections to which the act does not apply the old statutes will govern as before the passage of a primary law.⁹⁷ Nor is a law rendered special by requiring direct choice of the candidates in a single ward or township, while for larger divisions delegates are selected to hold nominating conventions. A New York statute distinguishes between municipal and other elections in determining party affiliations, so that a man may claim party regularity, though voting differently at will in city affairs.⁹⁸ The inalienable right of the people to call Cincinnatus and Putnam from their plows when the office seeks the man, has been vindicated by the supreme court of Michigan.⁹⁹

4. Ever since men first espoused the doctrine of majority rule in popular government students have been perplexed by the problems presented when three or more candidates for one office, or three or more solutions of one question have been before the people. Likewise, the utter elimination of the minority from a voice in affairs, and its treatment as a wholly negligible factor, has troubled philosophers and statesmen who desire justice and truly representa-

additional appointment may be enjoined. *State v. St. Paul*, 111 La. 713; 35 So. 838. (La. 1903.) See the provision that party rules govern until legally changed by New York Prim. Elect. Law, 1899, ch. 473, sec. 9, subdiv. 2. *People v. Dem. Gen. Com. N. Y. Co.*, 67 N. E. 898 (1903); Also *People v. Kings Co.*, 168 N. Y. 639. A New York law required that the proceedings of conventions must be carefully kept, and publicly filed, and that party rules, if changed, must be publicly filed within three days thereafter.

⁹⁶ Rhode Island, P. Laws 1903, p. 603, being act April 14, 1903; *Hopper v. Stack*, 56 At. 1.

⁹⁷ *Ladd v. Holmes*, 66 Pac. 714, Oregon.

⁹⁸ North Carolina Code, sec. 2687, required separate ballots and separate ballot boxes for state, congressional, judicial, legislative and county offices. *State v. Nicholson*, 102 N. C. 465 (1889). Kansas Laws, ch. 228, L. 1903, provides for a general ballot containing national, state, congressional, legislative and judicial candidates, a separate township ballot, a separate city ballot, and another ballot for constitutional amendments and other matters referred to the people, with separate ballot-boxes for each class of ballots. Such laws encourage the voter to distinguish among the issues involved in nation, township, city, etc.

⁹⁹ *Kent Co. Prim. Elec. Law* (Local Acts Mich. 1903), p. 142, No. 326, sec. provided that before the name of any candidate may be placed on the ballot at a primary election, such person shall on oath declare his purpose to become a candidate. This was held violative of Const., art. 18, sec. 1, which prescribes the oath that shall be required of public officers, and that no other oath shall be required as a qualification for any office. Says the court: "By the added qualification, voters are precluded from choosing as a candidate one who declines to himself seek the office." *Dapper v. Smith*, 101 N. W. 60 (1904).

tive government.¹⁰⁰ In the early history of this nation five or more of the original commonwealths chose their representatives in Congress on a general ticket;¹⁰¹ five chose by districts, and this system gradually spread, until in 1842 it was made mandatory.¹⁰² Numerous constitutional amendments were offered, especially in the early days, to elect presidential electors by districts and representatives by districts. In 1877, and again in 1888, Maish, of Pennsylvania, presented resolutions of amendment dividing the electoral votes of each state in proportion to the popular vote for the several candidates. Many states provide for the distribution of election boards and some few other offices among political parties, usually between the two leading parties. In 1870 Illinois adopted a constitution with a section¹⁰³ to secure proportional representation, or, more properly, minority representation in the legislature. Quite a number of proportional measures have been passed in the different states, but most of them have been pronounced to be unconstitutional.

¹⁰⁰ In 1780 the Duke of Richmond introduced a bill in Parliament, with a clause for minority representation. From 1857 to 1862 John Stuart Mill, Rowland Hill (the pioneer for cheaper postage), and Thomas Hare, in England, and Miss Catharine H. Spence, of Australia, discussed proportional representation extensively in their writings. "Equal quorums to elect members" was actually tried in Adelaide, Australia, in 1840. Mill remarked the despotism of majorities, and said: "In a really equal democracy every section would be represented proportionally. In private corporations, the right of minority representation has been deemed of enough importance to protect it by constitutional guarantees. See Constitutions of Pennsylvania, California, art. 12, sec. 12; Nebraska, art. 11, sec. 5; West Virginia, art. 11, sec. 7; Missouri, art. 12, sec. 6. Other states, as Ohio, Kansas, Kentucky and New York, as well as Great Britain, by statute or otherwise, secure to minority stockholders a share in the board of directors. In the Fifty-fourth Congress Tom Johnson, of Ohio, introduced a bill for proportional representation. If by some cataclysm all Republicans were utterly extirpated in the southern states, leaving all the Democrats; or if by some means all Democrats were removed from New England, the change would scarcely be noticed politically in those sections, so completely is the minority ignored in government.

¹⁰¹ Or, as we more commonly say, "by the state at large." In Connecticut a preliminary election was held to nominate three times the number of congressmen to be chosen, and at a second election the number to which the state was entitled was elected from these. *Am. Hist. Assn. Rpts.* 1896, Vol. 2, 56. The "Randolph" plan in the constitutional convention was proportional in one sense.

¹⁰² Curiously enough, while the lower house of Congress was thus tending to be more representative, the system of electing presidential electors was changing from district and other forms to a general ticket. In 1828 only three states chose their representatives from the state at large.

¹⁰³ *Const. Ill.*, art. 4, secs. 7 and 8: "In all elections for representatives each voter may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected in the district, or may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates, as he shall see fit, and the candidates highest shall be declared elected." Three representatives are elected from each senatorial district. This is the "cumulative" plan used in private corporations.

In March, 1889, the Michigan legislature enacted a law¹⁰⁴ embodying the "cumulative" plan to represent the minority. It was held unconstitutional.¹⁰⁵ In the opinion, Chief Justice Champlin discusses the matter philosophically and historically, and describes the four plans known as the "restrictive" or "limited vote," the "cumulative," the "Geneva," "free vote" or "Gilpin" plan, and the "Hare" or "single vote" system.¹⁰⁶ To this there has since been added per-

¹⁰⁴ *Maynard v. Bd. Canvassers*, 84 Mich. 228; 47 N. W. 756 (1890). The chief justice said: "There has been in the latter half of the present century a growing desire to secure to minorities a proportionate representation in legislative and corporate bodies, and from time to time schemes have been advocated by those who have desired to bring about what they claim is a reform in existing modes of election to secure to the minority a just and proportional representation. These schemes may well be all reduced to four well-defined classes, viz.: (1) The "restrictive," which requires a certain number of candidates to be elected, and prohibits any elector from voting for the whole number to be elected. Thus if four are to be chosen no one may vote for more than two. (2) The "cumulative," which requires three or more to be elected, and permits each elector to cast as many votes as there are persons to be elected, and to distribute these votes among the candidates as the elector may choose. (3) The "Geneva," "free vote," or "Gilpin" plan. By this plan the districts are required to be large, and each party puts in nomination a full ticket and each voter casts a single ballot. The whole number of ballots cast having been ascertained, that sum is divided by the number of places to be filled and each ticket, or party, is entitled to places in proportion to the number of votes cast for such ticket (or party), taking the persons elected from the head of the tickets. (4) The fourth plan is what is known as the "Hare" or "single vote." It requires successive counts and redistribution of votes until an election is reached. The court adds, concerning the "free vote" plan: "This doubtless comes nearest to a proportionate representation of the minority of any plan devised, which is practical for popular elections. It was originated by Thomas Gilpin in 1844, who advocated it in a pamphlet published in Philadelphia. It has never been adopted in this country, but has become the 'free list' (*list libre*) of Geneva, and is said to work well in Switzerland." It is not wholly essential to the "free vote" that a full ticket be nominated, but only about the number of candidates that the party expects to elect, with one or two added to meet the contingency of an increased vote.

¹⁰⁵ The law (Mich. Acts, No. 254, March, 1889) reads: "In districts where more than one representative is to be elected, each qualified elector may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected or may distribute the same among the candidates as he may see fit, and the candidates highest in votes shall be declared elected. * * * Opposite the name of each person voted for there shall be written or printed in plain figures the number of times the elector intends to vote for said person in whole numbers, provided that in case the total of the numbers opposite the names of the persons voted for exceed the total number of representatives to be elected from that district, the excess shall be taken from the person so voted for lowest on the ticket, and should there still be an excess then from the next above, until the numbers correspond."

¹⁰⁶ The "Hare" plan has been modified somewhat by Miss Spence and by Alfred Cridge, and is now usually called the "Hare-Spence," or "Hare-Cridge" plan. It is a modification of the "free vote" by letting the voter express a first and second, and possibly more, choices. The object is that if his favorite candidate gets more than enough votes to elect—that is, more than the necessary quota—or falls far short of getting enough votes to elect, the voter's vote will not be wholly lost,

haps as fifth the "Gove" plan.¹⁰⁷ The "restrictive" or "limited vote" plan has been used in American elections more than any other method designed to assure representation of a minority. The Pennsylvania constitution prescribed the limited vote for judges of the supreme court, county commissioners and some other officers. The principle has been extended by simple statutory enactments in the Keystone state and upheld there. But similar laws in Ohio, Jersey and Rhode Island have been repeatedly pronounced unconstitutional.¹⁰⁸ In foreign countries the system is frequently

but may be transferred to his second, or later, choice among candidates (or measures).

¹⁰⁷ The "Gove" plan takes its name from an active and prominent legislator of Salem, Mass., William H. Gove, who devised the plan and actively supported it. The Gove plan is perhaps but a variation of some of the other plans, and its prominent feature is that the elector votes for but one candidate, and the candidate has the right to transfer his surplus votes, or his insufficient vote, to other candidates whom he has publicly named beforehand. The supporters of the Hare and Gove plans prefer to call such systems "effective voting," instead of proportional representation, because more votes are "effective," that is, are cast for candidates who are elected, than under the conventional majority or plurality vote.

¹⁰⁸ Jury commissioners were so named in Pennsylvania. Seven judges of the superior court were to be chosen, and the legislature permitted each voter to vote for but six candidates. The act was upheld as not contravening Const. Pa., art. 1, sec. 5—"all elections shall be free and equal." *Com. v. Reeder*, 171 Pa. 505; 33 At. 67, construing act of June 24, 1895. That certain offices were filled by a limited vote under the constitution did not by implication forbid the legislature from using the same method in filling other offices under the rule, *Expressio unius est exclusio alterius*. The decisions in Pennsylvania cannot be reconciled with those in three other states. Ohio Act April 21, 1884, authorized electing four members of the police board at the same election, but denied to electors the right to vote for more than two candidates—held, to conflict with the constitutional provision that each elector shall be entitled to vote at all elections. *State v. Constantine*, 42 Ohio St. 437. Under Rhode Island Const., art. 2, sec. 1, and Amend. art. 7, sec. 1, qualified electors have the right to vote in the election of all civil officers and a statute providing that each voter shall vote for but one candidate for the town council, and that the five receiving the most votes shall be declared elected, is void. *In re Opinion of Judges*, 41 At. 1009 (1898). Two different provisions in New Jersey statutes for the choice of members of the boards of excise commissioners by limited vote have been held unconstitutional. Act March 22, 1901 (P. L. p. 408), established an excise board of four members for a city, two to be elected at the first election following, for two years and two for one year; and that annually thereafter two shall be chosen for two years, but that no party shall nominate more than one candidate, and that no ballot shall contain the name of more than one candidate. This was held to be inhibited by Const., art. 2, sec. 1, which declares that every voter shall be entitled to vote for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, since this law permits each voter to vote for only half the members of the board to be elected at each election. *McArdle v. City of Jersey City*, 49 At. 1013 (1901). Also Act of April 8, 1884, amended June 1, 1886 (2 Gen. St., p. 1806), provided a board of excise commissioners of five members to be elected on a general ticket, with restriction that no voter shall vote for more than three, and the five receiving the highest votes shall be elected.

used.¹⁰⁹ The "cumulative" plan is much used in corporations, and some attempt has been made to apply it in general elections, the Illinois selection of its lower house being the most prominent example. Beginning in 1874, Ohio, too, used this method for awhile in selecting legislatures. In 1889 it was applied in Boston to choosing aldermen. In Michigan the attempt so to elect the lower house was held void, as has been stated.¹¹⁰ The "free vote" has gained no foothold in our land, but is much used in Europe.¹¹¹ The Hare-Spence plan has been in use in some parts of Denmark since 1856, also in Tasmania, parts of Australia and New Zealand.¹¹²

The "preferential ballot," which is a prominent feature of the Hare-Spence method of securing proportional representation, has also been used where single candidates are to be chosen to

Unconstitutional. *Bowden v. Bedell*, 53 At. 198 (N. J., 1902); *Smith v. City Perth Amboy*, 56, At. 145 (N. J., 1903).

¹⁰⁹ Japan elects her House of Commons by a single untransferrable vote in districts returning from five to fifteen members each. Belgium also uses the single vote.

¹¹⁰ Pennsylvania act of June 2, 1871, applied the cumulative vote in electing town councilmen. *Com. v. Shoener*, 1 Leg. Chron. 177; 18 Am. Dig. 249u. Senator Buckalew, of that state, was very enthusiastic in working for proportional representation in the state and in Congress. In the Michigan decision (*Maynard v. Bd. Canvassers*, 84 Mich. 228), the act was found to conflict with three sections of the constitution: Art. 4, secs. 2 and 3, securing representative government; art. 7, sec. 2, providing for election of representatives by ballot from single districts, and art. 7, sec. 1, entitling every male citizen of twenty-one years to vote at all elections. The latter clause was said to imply that no voter should cast more than one vote, as he could do by cumulation. Just after the civil war, Senator Buckalew urged a cumulative system for electing members of Congress and the committee unanimously recommended a measure for passage. The Michigan court in saying that all cumulative voting in corporations was authorized by express constitutional provisions evidently overlooked the case of *Horton v. Wilder*, 48 Kansas 222, which sustains cumulative voting in corporations under ch. 61, sec. 1, laws of Kansas, 1876, which has no specific constitutional sanction. In Illinois it has been held that the mention of cumulative voting in the constitution does not thereby deny power to the legislature to apply the system to other offices, as trustees of sanitary districts. *People v. Nelson*, 133 Ill. 565. The cumulative plan has been severely criticised (as in the Michigan case) as likely by reason of great excess of votes given to a very popular candidate to result in the election of a majority of candidates by a minority party or parties. Abroad the cumulative plan seems confined to the Swiss canton of Zug, and the choice of school boards in Great Britain.

¹¹¹ Belgium, in 1899, adopted the free list with single vote. Italy has used it since 1882, and four or five cantons in Switzerland have the free list.

¹¹² Called the "Andr " system in Denmark. Some form of proportional representation is used in Belgian municipalities, locally in Norway, and in electing representatives at Rio Janeiro, Brazil. Six elections were held in Tasmania for members of Parliament, including its senators to the Australian commonwealth. The voter expressed first, second, etc., choice among candidates.

office in order to assure a majority choice among three or more candidates.¹¹⁸

Even this simple survey of events shows strongly the steady advance of the electorate in taking power into their own hands. If any mistrust the people—if any have misgivings lest the masses be incapable of using wisely the powers they have assumed, he may find relief in the thought that whereas the average mature American of the year 1800 had enjoyed but eighty-two days of schooling in his life, his descendant of to-day receives 1,034 days' public instruction. The trend toward democracy may be the result of men's conscious, deliberate design; it may be unconscious destiny.

States are not great,
Except as men may make them.
Men are not great except they do and dare;
But states, like men,
Have destinies that take them,
That bear them on, not knowing how or where.

¹¹⁸ In many presidential elections, especially since 1856, the man elected had not a majority of popular votes. The chance of a minority to elect an executive officer has been shown often in New York City, and strikingly in the late 1905 election, and also in Boston. In the latter city, in 1905, Fitzgerald was elected by a plurality of 48 per cent of the total vote. A preferential ballot would either have proved that he was first, or second choice of a majority of the voters, or would have defeated him. The total vote was 92,404, divided thus: Fitzgerald, Dem., 44,316; Frothingham, Rep., 35,936; Dewey, Ind. Rep., 11,637; Watson, Ind. Dem., and Cit., 515. Two or more bills were introduced in the Wisconsin special session of the legislature in December, 1905, but were lost by small majorities. Governor La Follette had recommended consideration of such measures with a view to avoid nominations by a minority under the new primary election law. The unproportional results of the present system of electing legislative officers is shown remarkably in Kansas, in the congressional elections beginning with 1890. In 1890, with 122,682 votes, the Republicans elected but two members of Congress, while the People's Party, with only 18,000 more votes (140,768) secured five members. Two years later, though gaining 36,000 votes, to the Populist gain of only 18,000, the Republicans gained but one member. In 1894, however, the Republicans elected six out of the seven members with 150,013 votes, while the Populists, with 109,971, saved but one member, and he by a narrow plurality. In 1896, though gaining 9,000 votes, the Republicans lost four of their six Congressmen, while the fusionists gained four on a gain of 56,000 in popular vote. Ignoring the non-fusion Democratic and scattering vote in 1890, 140,768 Populists had five representatives in Congress, while 122,682 Republicans had but two. In 1892 the division was nearly or quite equitable. In 1894 150,013 Republicans outvoted 109,971 Populists in the ratio of six to one. In 1896 only two members represented 159,699 Republican citizens, while five represented 166,504 fusion voters. Since 1898 the representation of non-Republicans has fallen off until, for several years, they are as wholly unrepresented as though they did not exist.

A PROBLEM OF PRIMARIES

BY J. DE LANCEY VERPLANCK

Introduction.—We often forget the great difference between a majority and a plurality election. By the former the electorate can freely by degrees winnow out its choice from any number of candidates. By the latter it can only choose, in reality, between two nominees.

When the members of a private society are to meet and discuss their candidates, and are to elect by majority, they need not hold any conferences beforehand. They may, if they choose, wait till the meeting and do all their conferring in the open. If the vote is scattered at first, it can be gradually combined on later ballots, as the less popular candidates are given up, until a decision is at length reached. As a matter of fact, some candidates are often nominated before the meeting, but the choice is not confined to these. If a majority party spontaneously scatters its vote on the first ballot it is not thereby defeated; it may gradually unite¹ its vote and win on a later ballot.

How different is the plurality election! Here a large majority would be defeated if it divided its vote spontaneously among several candidates according to individual choice. Success is, therefore, to the largest army of voters instructed beforehand. Spontaneity and freedom are impossible. The fear of "throwing away" votes tends inevitably to narrow the choice to two candidates previously named. The plurality method may be as unsatisfactory when a candidate receives a large majority as when he receives only a plurality. For the winner may be a "machine" candidate supported by a majority party that dared not split its vote, but would really have preferred some other man. Our ordinary political election, being by plurality,

¹The essential advantage of the majority plan is the opportunity for reasonable consolidating of votes *during* the meeting. There is nothing very sacred about the half of the votes plus one. In many cases there would be no harm in a rule allowing a plurality to elect after five unsuccessful ballots had been cast.

is only a small final stage of the real process of determining who is to fill the office.

When we complain of "machines" and "bosses" we sometimes attribute them wholly to corruption and ignorance, forgetting that they are persons who have stepped in to perform that part of the real process of choice which we, ourselves, have as yet no instruments for performing. The machines are not usually popular. Their candidates are accepted from necessity. If we ousted all the present machines, new ones would arise, unless we also reformed our system of nomination or of election.

To make the people more contented, the machine has long maintained a vast drama of primaries and conventions for the pretended popular choice of candidates. This sham pageant of popular representation deceives some and vaguely soothes the mind of others, so as to prevent revolt.

Some men say machine rule is inevitable because the number of persons is small who are at once energetic enough to propose candidates and well informed enough to do so successfully. But this argument does not excuse what we really complain of. What we lack is a fair field open to all. In some cases the right man for a candidate is already known to the people, and, in most cases, some patriotic persons would bring him forward, if only there were a fair field. We complain because the boss compels voters to support certain men, not because he advises them to do so.

Is there any method of election or nomination that would give a large electorate the liberty enjoyed by a club or town meeting when it elects by majority? There are two such: proportional representation and preferential voting. They might be applied either to final elections or to public preliminary elections, into which our primaries may be transformed. Proportional representation might be used at the polls to elect legislative bodies, or at the primaries to elect nominating conventions. Preferential voting might be used at the polls to elect officers of any kind, or at the primaries to nominate them.

Changes in the mode of final election, however desirable in themselves, seem far from the present current of American thought. It is with the primaries we are dissatisfied, it is with the primaries we are experimenting, it is for the primaries that improved methods of choice are likely the sooner to be tried. Shams though the actual

primaries have been, they have yet kept alive in the public mind a desire for real ones.

The Problem.—What sort of primaries will free us from “machines”? Or—to put it more philosophically: By what sort of primaries can our elections be so prepared for, that by primaries and elections together the popular will may be gathered and effected in a manner as easy for the voter as the nature of the case will allow? Ease is the crux of the problem. The labor required by the nature of the case is investigation, proposal and persuasion, by a few, and voting at primaries and polls by many. Our bad system imposes upon any new movement a vast additional labor of organizing and canvassing, which only under very unusual stress will men perform.

As the printing-press has made easy the publication of opinions, so better methods of nomination or election will one day make easy the gathering of the popular voice. The problem of gathering the popular voice is very different from the problem of good government proper. The latter is necessarily difficult, and, like liberty, demands eternal vigilance.

Its Importance.—One sometimes hears nomination reform belittled in this wise: “The bosses will not grant you a good primary system. You must overthrow the bosses first; hence it will be soon enough to talk of a better system when the reformers are in power, and when good men are in power a better system may be little needed.” The answer is: The reform organization when successful will in time degenerate into a machine unless a better system is adopted, and as the framing of a system requires much thought, early discussion is desirable. Also, the reformers may sooner gain public confidence and come into power if pledged to a primary system precluding boss rule.

Attendance.—In probably most of our states we have already protected the primaries from the old-time violence and fraud. The rule of the machine is often said to continue only because the voters are too lazy to attend the primaries. But the recent experience of Baltimore and Minneapolis seems to show that voters are ready to attend the primaries when they feel that their votes will decide something.

Exclusion of Certain Voters.—In many cases at present voters are excluded from Republican and Democratic primaries who cannot pass a boss-made test of party membership. It is not merely

Mugwumps who are thus excluded; it is also some habitual supporters of each party whose only crime is a certain independence of mind. Even when the men excluded are few, they yet often comprise the natural leaders of anti-machine movements, and hence their exclusion prevents any opposition to the bosses, thereby depriving the primaries of all interest.

One plea for a party test is that under the "open" plan "heelers" sometimes vote in the primaries of both parties pertaining to nomination for the same office. This double voting, however, can easily be prevented without a party test, especially if the primaries of both parties are held at the same time and places. A party test and better government have come together in Minneapolis, but one was not the cause of the other, for recent primary and election figures prove that in spite of the test a great many of the Democrats now vote at the Republican primary—many, doubtless, from good motives. Were enrolment required, sudden changes of party colors would be prevented, but that would merely make bad men lay their plans earlier.

Take as an example of the party test the one prescribed for large cities by the New York primary law. A voter must be enrolled a year beforehand and must state when he enrolls that he is "in general sympathy with the principles of the party" and intends "generally to support" its nominees "at the next general election, state or national." Let us see who is excluded in three general political situations: *First*. One political question is generally acknowledged to be the most important. While admitting of many varieties of opinion, the question has broadly two sides—one party stands for each of these sides. Only a few "cranks" are excluded. *Second*. There are two important questions, like silver and imperialism. Many a voter is bitterly opposed to each party on one of them, and is therefore excluded. *Third*. Old questions have been settled—the old party names have ceased to mean anything. The so-called parties are kept alive by the sentimental attachment of some men, the timidity of others, and the selfish interest of yet others. A new question has arisen, but the parties have not yet taken any stand upon it. Two classes of voters are excluded: (a) Men who glory in some mythical permanent underlying principles of their party, but who think the chances three to two that their party will take for a time the wrong side on the new question, and hence somewhat hope but do not intend "generally to

support" its next nominees; (b) men who have no sympathy with the principles of either party, because they perceive that neither party has any principles.

New Parties.—Sometimes when new questions arise men like from sentiment to retain old party names, but at other such times they retain them chiefly from the fear of throwing away votes. In a city, for instance, where there is agitated the question of "municipal operation" of car lines, some forty per cent of the voters might like to form a "municipal operation" party, and some forty per cent more might like to form a franchise party. So long as these groups are ignorant of their own strength, the individuals composing them will go on voting the Republican and Democratic tickets in city elections for fear of throwing away their votes. A good primary system should be a census of opinions, showing whether a new party is strong enough to take part (without a waste of votes) in the final election. The irrelevant and confusing Republican and Democratic parties in city politics might long ago have vanished had new parties had a fair chance. The way to give this fair chance is simple: Allow candidates for nomination or candidates for delegate, according to the system used, to be placed on the ballot for a public primary under any party name, old or new. Let the right of a party to a place on the ballot of final election depend wholly on the size of its vote at the primary. Let previous elections have nothing whatever to do with it.

Leaders of old parties often take up new issues half-heartedly, or only pretend to take them up. Very different would be parties newly formed for the sake of a definite policy under its natural leaders. We need to call parties by their right names, so that voters may know what they are about.

Organizations.—We should cease to give party organizations, as such, the right to put candidates on the ballot of final election. For, however large organizations may be and however carefully regulated by law, they are still in their nature political clubs. To grant these clubs an easier mode of nominating than the filing of petitions, that independents must use, or even to recognize clubs upon the ballot at all, is utterly to confuse the voter's mind; it is to encourage the superstition that a mysterious "they" have a "divine right" to nominate. We need, therefore, a public primary, or, more correctly, a nominating election, "wholly distinct from organization

elections." We need a nominating election conducted "for the people by the people." We may recognize party names (as designating the opinions of candidates) without recognizing organizations.

Plurality Primaries.—When the modern primary is not an empty show, it is an intermediate election. There is nothing primary about it. It is not a town meeting, where grievances can be discussed and remedies concerted. In some cities and states even the form of the caucus has wholly disappeared, and the primary is merely a set of polling places. Elsewhere a part of the old form still exists, but the right to speak is almost useless, because of plurality choice and the consequent prearrangement of the voting. Plurality choice destroys freedom and prevents a majority from winning except by thorough pre-primary organization. Either all the choosing, or the choosing of the two practical tickets, has been done beforehand.

Plurality primaries are defended on the ground that the contest is purely personal, and the man of greatest vote is therefore likely to be truly representative, since his opponents have no common cause to lose by division. It is true that in a purely personal contest the man with the greatest number of admirers is rather likely to be truly representative of the elective body. But even in this case plurality voting does not show who is admired. Robinson may have more admirers than Smith or Brown, but if rumor says that Smith and Brown will be the leading candidates, most of the voters will choose between them rather than "throw away their votes" on Robinson. Moreover, contests within a party are not always personal, but are often contests of principle.

The True Caucus.—It might seem at first sight that we ought to restore the true caucus, by which is meant a meeting of voters that can ballot repeatedly, a meeting for discussing policies and men, and for electing delegates by majority. As the failure of the old caucuses was due to violence and false counting, we have little or no American experience of how a caucus would behave under legal protection like that which guards the modern election or primary.

Where the caucus would really deliberate, it would be a good political school, like the New England town meeting. Some good men would be drawn out by a deliberative meeting who would not be heard by any other plan. But, on the other hand, good causes would be lost in many a meeting for want of a competent advocate

therein. Many a meeting would go as some petty politician desired simply because most of the voters hung back and waited for others to propose things. It would seem that the few who propose and ably advocate good things ought to be allowed to appeal for votes directly to a fairly large constituency, and not be shut up in a small meeting. The caucus plan of representation is like that used by countless private societies—fraternities, trades unions, churches, etc.—but it is also unlike. For in the private society the local chapter has a common life of its own, its members are known to each other, and it can therefore easily select a real representative from its own membership; while many of the caucuses, being in large cities, would consist of neighbors unknown to each other and having different political admirations. It might be that the only neighbor known in common to many of the voters present would be a petty politician who for selfish ends had taken pains to be known. The caucus would meet too seldom to acquire the self-knowledge or the *esprit du corps* of the local chapter of a private society.

Proportional Representation.—This would not allow the voter to begin matters at the primary, but it would allow many and various candidates for delegate really to compete there for the voter's choice without obtaining the consent of any boss or machine. The voter could scarcely fail to find one among them all who would properly represent his views. He could freely choose one out of many without fear of throwing away his vote.

The forms of proportional representation used for the Belgian Parliament, and for some of the cantonal legislatures of Switzerland, seem unduly complicated for our purpose. On this account it has been suggested that our party conventions be elected by the "single vote." This system is used in electing the Japanese House of Representatives. A province sends from two to eighteen representatives, elected at large. The persons of greatest vote are declared elected, but each voter can vote only for one person. Consequently, in a province with ten members, for instance, any person will be elected who wins the support of one-tenth of the voters, and therefore a large variety of opinions may be represented in the chamber.

Our nominating conventions would be greatly improved if elected by large many-membered districts by this method. There is one disadvantage, however. The anti-machine vote, if unorganized, might be mostly concentrated on a very few persons, and conse-

quently might obtain very few seats. The simplest remedy for this fault would be to abandon the custom of giving the delegates equal power, and to let each delegate cast in the convention as many votes as the people had cast for him at the primary. A delegate would then somewhat resemble a proxy at a corporation meeting.

After each unsuccessful ballot in the conventions the candidate of smallest vote might be compelled by rule to drop out of the race, in order to prevent the deadlocks which might otherwise be likely to occur in a proportionally elected convention.

Proportionally elected conventions have spontaneously appeared in the crude form of "fusion" conferences, such as those which nominated Seth Low for Mayor of New York, and which, unlike our usual conventions of puppets, really deliberated. Men in favor of proportional representation for legislatures should regard nominating conventions as a good field for a first trial of their Swiss plant on American soil.

On the other hand, men opposed to proportional representation for legislatures should favor it for nominating conventions; for they can hardly deny that public opinion should be somewhere gathered from the various opinions of which it is composed. Their best argument is that the collecting process should take place outside the legislature. In these days of complex law, the legislature, it is said, needs all its time to apply the public will to a multitude of little questions, when the general preference of the people has been already gathered. It is said that if minor opinions were represented in the legislature, that body would waste its time in discussing those theories of a few that cannot, at least for many years, be carried out; and that the business of the house would be blocked in consequence. Those who hold this view should welcome proportional representation in nominating conventions as a means of obtaining that assembly, competition, and modification, of many opinions that ought, they admit, take place somewhere.

Preferential Voting.—Preferential voting at primaries would give the voters a direct and free choice between many candidates for nomination. The voter marks his first choice candidate "1," his second choice candidate "2," and so on. The ballots are brought together in one place to be counted. There is a file for each candidate and a file for ineffective ballots. The ballots are first filed according to their first choices. If there be no majority, the candidate with

fewest ballots is "dropped" and his ballots are redistributed among the remaining files, according to the preference on each ballot. A ballot with no vote for any candidate still in the race goes on the ineffective file. If there be yet no majority, the candidate who now has fewest ballots is "dropped" and the ballots on his file are redistributed. The process is continued till somebody has a majority of the effective ballots.

This plan might be applied to fairly large constituencies, but its application to more than a few offices would be too laborious. Its application to nominations for the lower branch of a state legislature might leaven the whole state government with true democracy. Nominations for other offices might be made by plurality. The assemblymen and candidates for the assembly in the last election, having been freely chosen by the people, would, with their political friends, form rallying centers against any bosses who might propose unpopular candidates for nomination to the other offices.

Simple Second Choice Voting.—Governor La Follette suggested to the Wisconsin legislature "that the voter shall indicate upon his ballot his first and second choice of the candidates presented for each office. And that if no candidate has a majority over all candidates of first choice, then the candidate having the largest number of first and second choice votes shall be accorded the nomination." Under this plan victory might sometimes reward a selfish leader for advising his adherents to make no second choice votes or to give them only to insignificant candidates. On the other hand, the plan is simple enough to apply to all nominations, and it allows public opinion to be pretty freely expressed by the first choice votes. Public opinion, if it did not prevail at one primary, might do so at the primary of the next election.

The Wisconsin Plan.—The primary of the Wisconsin type is a general public primary, without party test, for nominating candidates by direct plurality vote. The plan was first tried in Minnesota, but a party test was afterwards adopted there. By the new Wisconsin law there is a ballot for each recognized party and a "non-partisan" ballot. On each appear names of candidates for nomination. The names have been placed there by petition. The voter retires to the booth with all the ballots and marks on one of them the names he prefers.

An improved plan of the same general type is found in the bill

for municipal "nominating elections" drafted by the National Municipal League. "Each competitor for the nomination of municipal elective office is required to state the platform or group of political principles upon which he seeks the nomination; and of the competitors standing upon the same platform, that one having the largest vote secures the exclusive right—provided the total vote for all candidates standing upon the same political platform equals — per cent of the vote cast at the nominating election—to have his name as the representative of that group of principles printed as candidate for office upon the official ballot used at the ensuing municipal election." This plan gives equal opportunities to old and new parties, and does not recognize organizations.

The primary of the Wisconsin type is a great advance upon our usual methods, not only because it is a really public primary, but also because direct pluralities are far better than indirect. If our forefathers had believed in plurality primaries, they would doubtless have nominated their candidates by direct vote. Ten thousand voters can make a plurality choice as easily as one hundred. For a majority choice the case is quite different. If ten thousand men were to rebalot (*i. e.*, in nominating a candidate) they would have to reassemble at their several voting places; but one hundred men can meet once and rebalot many times at a single sitting—hence the division of the party into caucuses. The delegate system was doubtless framed to co-ordinate the action of deliberative majority voting caucuses. Delegation was merely incidental to local primary meetings for discussion and repeated balloting. When we elect delegates by plurality we have forgotten what delegates are for. When we vote by plurality at the primaries a delegate system is worse than useless to us, for without promoting any real deliberation, it limits all interest in the primaries to certain contested districts, and confirms party members in other districts in their sleepy habit of leaving politics to the politicians.

While in the Wisconsin and similar primaries the fear of throwing away votes under the plurality method will usually prevent a new candidate from winning on his merits, without organized support, the same may not prove true of an acceptable officer seeking a renomination. It will be a vast gain in our political life if good public officers can appeal for renomination directly to the voters.

The organization of a successful reform movement within the

party, though laborious, will be easier than under the present methods, because of the simple direct manner of voting and because of the admission of independent voters.

Even where the voter will merely choose at the primary between two corrupt machines within the party, he may gain a trifle by the competition between them.

On the whole, the Wisconsin idea bids fair to be, throughout the country, our next advance in political mechanism. Proportional or preferential methods may come later, when the need of them becomes generally felt.

It seems to be the hope of some persons that, under the Wisconsin or similar plans, some of the practicable candidates for nomination will be proposed without elaborate preliminary organization, either by small but worthy political associations, or, better still, by improvised conferences of public-spirited citizens prominent in their several callings. On the other hand, it may be the hope of others that very large and truly democratic associations will hold without state intervention pre primaries that are not shams, and will thus winnow out really representative candidates to go before the primaries. Either of these hopes may conceivably be fulfilled in some places for a time. In the end, however, we shall probably need official nominations or elections by some method more thorough than the plurality vote. Incidentally, we may have to reduce the number of our elective offices.

* * * * *

In time we shall attain a really sensitive instrument of election. This will greatly educate the voter by a sense of more direct responsibility. To educate the voter is, in the long run, the important thing.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Municipal Accounting

IN

Boston and Louisville

BOSTON, MASS.

BY HARVEY S. CHASE, Public Accountant and Auditor

The system of accounting in Boston is based upon cash receipts and cash payments, and the auditor's report deals only with the actual cash received and with the actual disbursements during the period.

The general system of accounting is based upon annual appropriations made by the city council as early in the fiscal year as practicable, which cover expenditures until the end of that fiscal year. During the period from the beginning of a new fiscal year until the appropriation bill is passed by the city council, the heads of departments are authorized by ordinance to make expenditures not to exceed a pro rata of each prior appropriation. This pro rating covers of course only the appropriations for ordinary expenditures (running expenses) of the year. The appropriation bill or budget is made up in the city auditor's office from estimates submitted by the various departments, and after consideration and amendments by the mayor, is presented to the city council for action. The city council, consisting of two bodies, passes upon the items of the bill and makes the final appropriations which thereupon become available to cover the expenditures of the year. To provide money in the treasury during the time preceding the collection of taxes of the year, the city treasurer is empowered to borrow an amount not exceeding a sum designated by the city council, and these borrowings are repaid from the proceeds of taxes collected during the year in which they are issued. Expenditures for new construction and other "capital" purposes of the city are provided for by appropriations from loans authorized by the city council in special appropriation bills. These loans are represented by bonds issued by the city running for various terms of years, each loan having a specific sinking fund into which moneys are annually appropriated by the city council in amounts sufficient to provide for the whole amount of the loan at maturity. These sinking funds in Boston have been admirably handled, although the fact that each loan has its separate sinking fund requires a very considerable amount of detailed bookkeeping in the sinking fund department.

The whole matter is complicated by the fact that portions of the city debt have been issued under the general law which permits indebtedness not to exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the average property values of three prior years, while in addition to the limitation of debt thus set up by statute there have been debts authorized by the legislature very considerably in excess of this limitation. In fact the debt "outside the limit" in Boston added to the debt "inside the limit" gives a total debt of about twice the so-called limitation. This condition somewhat complicates the sinking fund bookkeeping and requires also very careful attention by the auditing and treasury departments to see that the expenditures from loan appropriations conform to the requirements of statute law.

It is evident that a careful distinction is made between receipts from capital, such as flotation of loans, and receipts from current sources, such as taxes, etc.

Returning now to the budget and appropriations, it may be stated that when an appropriation is nearing exhaustion, a transfer or transfers may be made from the "reserve fund," for which a specific appropriation has been made in the original appropriation bill, or from some other appropriation which is in excess of the expenditures required thereunder. These transfers in 1905 amounted to \$411,000.

The appropriations for 1906 in Boston for general city requirements, "current expenses," amounted to \$11,946,889; the requirements for sinking funds were \$1,448,374; requirements for interest were \$2,560,854. The County of Suffolk is practically coterminate with the city of Boston. Its expenses and debt requirements are provided for by appropriations of the city council, and required \$1,314,530 in addition. The total of these appropriations for current expenses of the city and county amounted to \$17,270,647. In addition the water department appropriations for current expenses and "extension of mains" were \$545,000, and the water debt requirements (interest) \$359,309.

In Boston the final auditing of a claim or pay roll is practically equivalent to its payment, and it is the custom at the end of each fiscal period to include in the reports of the year all payments made, on account of that year, during some days or weeks after the nominal date of closing the books. In this way the system approximates to a revenue and expense basis, although it is not, technically speaking, upon such a basis.

The assets and liabilities of the city are properly kept in the books, but are not drawn up by the city auditor in balance-sheet form. The values of city property are set up in various excellent tables in the city auditor's report, and the liabilities are likewise set forth in detail and various schedules are given which supply the information in detail, and might be better given in summary form upon a "balance sheet," if such were published.

The auditor's report as a whole is an admirable presentation of the details of the city's financial affairs, although it is not arranged upon the standard lines originally devised by the National Municipal League's Committee upon uniform municipal accounts and statistics. The form of the auditor's report has remained unchanged for many years. Emphasis has

not been laid upon a change of form to the uniform distribution of accounts as now provided by the reports of the United States Census Bureau for all cities in the country, for the reason that the statistics department of the city of Boston, under the able administration of Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, who is a member of the National Municipal League's Committee, has arranged the reports relating to the receipts and payments of the city of Boston for each fiscal year, on tables in exact accord with the schedules endorsed by the league. Appendix B of "Special Publications Bulletin No. 12" of the Statistics Department gives upon these uniform schedules statements of the receipts and payments for each of the fiscal years 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1904; 1905 having been added in a later publication.

Comparisons of the figures of the current year with the figures for other years are provided in tables in the city auditor's report and appear in particularly good form in the special reports of the Statistics Department.

It would appear that suggestions for improvement in the city auditor's report would lie along the lines of arranging that report to follow as closely as practicable the arrangement of titles and accounts in the bulletin of the Census Bureau, specific reference being intended to Bulletin 50 of the current year 1906. It would also be of material advantage to have a statement of the properties and assets together with the debts and other liabilities set up in the form of a balance sheet, or trial balance statement, as a summary, with detailed schedules of each of these items set forth on subsidiary tables. Illustrations of what is here referred to are well given in the city auditor's report of Pawtucket, R. I., in the city comptroller's report of Minneapolis, Minn., and in the city comptroller's report of Rochester, N. Y.

The city auditor of Boston is in no sense a comptroller. The charter of the city makes the office an appointive one, and the city auditor is subordinate to the mayor, and can act independently in but few particulars. The duties of the city auditor's office are mainly clerical and statistical, as the charter gives no power to the auditor to throw out or hold up items which have been passed by other officials in accordance with the statutes and ordinances.

The actual work of verifying the mathematical exactness of the items audited and of keeping the books has been most excellently carried on by the city auditors of Boston for many years past. Political influence has played no part in the appointments in this department and the clerical force is efficient and intelligent.

Audits by outside professional accountants are made from time to time under instructions from the mayor, but no regularity in these audits is observed except in the treasury and sinking funds departments and in the city collector's department. These three departments have been annually audited by professional accountants for many years, under requirement of ordinance.

The movement toward uniform municipal reports and accounts has been gathering headway during the past ten years and, in its present phase, has

culminated in the work of the United States Census Office now going on at Washington.

The necessity for some measure of uniformity in municipal and other public reports has been understood and urged for many years by economists and students of public affairs who found themselves seriously handicapped whenever they attempted to draw up comparative statistical tables of municipal finance. Up to a few years ago there was no uniformity in methods for municipal reports, neither in nomenclature nor in forms for statistical exhibits. At that time the situation, so far as uniformity is concerned, appeared to be hopeless for the reason that municipalities are outside the domain of national legislation, while the laws pertaining to city affairs are not alike in any two of our forty-five states, even in primary and essential matters. Worse than this, the statutes regulating municipalities in many single states are found to vary very greatly, each city's charter being different from the charters of all other cities.

When the subject of uniform municipal accounting was first broached to city controllers and city auditors not many years ago, it was discounted by them. They considered that its realization in practice would be impossible, owing to the marked differences in the laws of the various states, already referred to above.

The prospect for uniform municipal accounting was therefore sufficiently discouraging to its adherents, and it was only by leaving uniformity of *accounting* severely alone for the time being, and devoting all available energies to the simpler side of the question, namely, *uniform municipal* reports based upon a redistribution of the city treasurer's accounts at the end of the year—this redistribution being made upon uniform and comparative schedules—that any progress could be achieved. I say treasurer's accounts, meaning thereby cash receipts and disbursements rather than true "revenue and expense" accounts (income and expenditure), because the only ideal in the minds of the great majority of financial officers in our small and medium-sized cities has been to finance each municipality upon a strictly "cash" basis, that is to say, to actually collect in cash all of the revenues of the municipal year during that same year and to actually pay out in cash all of the expenses which were incurred during the same period.

It appeared, therefore, simpler to get the idea of uniformity in methods definitely into the city officials' heads and to instill there a belief in the practicability of comparative municipal reports by taking the means at hand, viz.: treasury (cash) statements and transforming them annually upon uniform lines. This is the work to which the National Municipal League first addressed itself.

In regard to the necessity for uniform municipal reports and accounts it may well be asked: What has uniform and comparative accounting done in the business world? Where would our great railway systems, our large manufacturing enterprises, our ramifying electric railway companies, our great steamship corporations, or any of a thousand and one of our business combinations be without comparative accounting systems?

Uniform accounting plays much the same part in all business combinations that the high speed elevator plays in our twenty-story buildings; without it the whole structure would be useless and impossible. How is it with cities, with towns and other municipal divisions? Have they uniform and comparative accounting to-day? Most assuredly not. Have their methods of accounts and reports kept pace with the great development in these directions in the commercial world in the recent past? Again, most assuredly not. Have, indeed, our municipalities as a whole anything in the nature of a scientific, comprehensive and yet concise and simple system for keeping their accounts and making their reports? My experience proves to me that as a whole they most certainly have not, and that on the contrary the accounting and reporting of the great majority of the municipalities throughout this country is crude, unsystematic, inaccurate and away behind the times. Could any of our great businesses be carried on to-day if their accounting was the same or no better than that of our cities and towns? The answer is self-evident; not one of them could live a year under such conditions.

On what do the managers of great commercial enterprises base their actions? To what do they turn for daily and hourly information of the condition of their affairs? They turn to condensed, accurate and promptly-made reports, and there is nothing dubious about such reports; they are absolutely accurate, being taken from a scientifically devised system of accounts, and they are prompt to the minute, being made by thoroughly trained men, experts in their particular business and experienced by long years of adaptation therein.

How does the condition in our cities compare with this? Not in one city in a hundred in this country are there these accurate and prompt reports for the proper guidance of the managing officials; not in any of them are there, throughout the departments, the same grades of efficient men experienced by years of adaptation and experts in their particular businesses.

"Ah, there," says the critic of uniform accounting, "now you hit the real point—the men. You must have the men. Get the men and the system will take care of itself." Very true, as to the first point, but how shall we get the men? Have not cities been trying throughout the whole of municipal development in this country to get the men and, when they get an efficient one, to keep him, and have they not found themselves unable to do so? They tell us that in the good old times of small municipalities we did get the men and did get efficient and economical government without scientific systems of book-keeping. This is very likely true, but so also we did business in those times in single entry ledgers and often with the whole bookkeeping of a considerable establishment carried by the manager "under his hat." Would such methods do for commercial enterprises in the year of grace 1903? They certainly would not, and no more can the old methods in cities and towns provide for the present with its immense development of municipal functions. What did cities do in the recent past and what do they do for their citizens to-day? Compare Boston fifty years ago with Boston to-day. Look at the increase of city departments, the enormous development of civic functions,

and remember that the amount now spent annually upon our streets alone would have been sufficient to cover the whole cost of the municipal government not many decades ago.

"Get the men!" Yes, that is what we desire to do, and that is what uniform and comparative accounting and reporting is going to do for us if we give it the opportunity, I most firmly believe.

"Get the men!" Yes, but how do we get the men in business enterprises? Every manager of a great enterprise will tell you that the most serious difficulty is to get the right men. He will not, however, tell you, as every praiseworthy city official will, that there is an equal difficulty in keeping the man after he has been found. Why is there this difference in the ability to hold the capable men? Is this fundamental? Can anything be done to remedy it? In commercial lines the able man who has proved his capability is sure of his position so long as he continues efficient and honest. He has compensation in money and in honor among his peers. The results of his work are known to his superiors and to his rivals, and he has every inducement to struggle and strain to maintain his position and to improve it.

Has the capable city official to-day any correspondingly strong inducement to do his best, and to do it promptly? Has he credit and honor in the community? Has he even money compensation equivalent to that of private positions? My experience teaches me that the answers to these questions are negative and that the public official does not receive the credit and honor due him. That, on the contrary, whatever support and satisfaction is found by able men in public office come only through their own knowledge that they have done their best, or, to put it perhaps more truly, that they have done better than those about them.

Suppose the stimulation of competition for credit and honor from the community be added to the present inducements for capable public officials. Suppose by promptly issued comparative reports it should become evident to all that the head of one department has done better than others in his own city or better than those in similar departments in other cities, and suppose that thereby this official's hold upon his office and his hope of future promotion become strong, how will all this help in the Augean task of raising the level of capacity and efficiency in our public service?

To be commended for good work by their fellow citizens is almost unknown to public officials in these days. We are too apt to condemn all public servants together, the good and the bad alike, whenever some unsavory story of municipal politics appears. This injustice should be stopped. There should be discrimination, the capable must be distinguished from the incapable, the prudent from the extravagant, and the incorruptible public servant from the corrupt one.

How can this be done except by uniform and comparative public accounting and reporting? How else can these distinctions be made, how otherwise can the capable man be rewarded and the incapable one dismissed? Let the official who does well be shown forth in the results of the administration of his trust; let him receive the honor and the security of office which are due

him and we will never lack for public servants to play the same important parts that honorable and successful men play in private affairs.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

By J. W. BAIRD, Accountant.

The system of municipal accounting in use at Louisville, Ky., is usually termed the "voucher system." The city's receipts are from taxes, licenses or privileges, interest on deposits, sale of franchises, dividends on gas stock, proceeds of sales of broken stone from the workhouse, sales of clinical tickets and pay patients at the hospital, and obsolete and condemned property and material.

Except the taxes and licenses, the proceeds from these sources are usually credited to a general fund, or to the account producing them. The city revenue proper being taxes and licenses, is distributed to the following boards, who elect their own officers, keep their own accounts and publish their own reports, viz.: Louisville school board, commissioners of the sinking fund, board of park commissioners, and board of managers of the house of refuge.

Licenses are collected by the commissioners of the sinking fund. This commission is charged with the payment of the interest and principal of the bonded debt. In addition to licenses, the board receives a moiety of the taxes for this purpose.

The assessment is made annually. Upon its completion the board of equalization meets for fifteen days to hear complaints from parties assessed. Upon the close of the assessor's books the general council fixes the tax rate, and ascertaining the amount to be realized, the general council makes one or more appropriation ordinances, the first one usually being only temporary, the last one after the wants of the city are more accurately determined; but in no case must the gross amount appropriated exceed 95 per cent of the levy, unless more than that shall be actually collected. All taxes are levied by ordinance, and the purpose for which they are levied must be specified in the ordinance. The revenue is expended for those purposes only for which it was collected. The assessor makes the tax bills. These bills are printed with a stub, machine-numbered, bill and stub alike, commencing with number one, and proceeding indefinitely to as many as there are lots of land and lots of personalty assessed, that is to say, one bill for each lot of land and the improvements thereon, and one bill for the personalty assessed against any one person. The bills are bound 200 in a book. Upon the completion of the bills the assessor delivers them to the tax receiver, taking his receipt therefor, and reporting the details of the assessment to the comptroller and the general council. Upon the delivery to the tax receiver, the comptroller charges the receiver with the gross amount of the assessment, crediting the assessment for that year. The tax receiver each month is charged with any additional bills, covering omitted bills and interest and penalties for delin-

quencies which may accrue, and in like manner he is credited with any errors or abatements found during the month, all of which are duly certified to the comptroller by the assessor.

Upon receiving the bills, the taxpayer is notified by postal and advertisement that they are ready for payment. The tax receiver makes daily reports of his collections, stating in detail the name of the taxpayer, the number of the tax bill, the kind of tax and the amount paid; at the close of business he sends these statements with the money to the treasurer, who credits him with "cash." The report goes to the comptroller, who charges the assessment account and credits the various funds (tax accounts) with their proportion. An impression or carbon copy of these daily reports goes to the assessor, who is required to note upon the assessment rolls or journals the payment of the tax upon each specific piece of property by the number of the bill and the date and number of report. These reports are numbered serially, and each year bound for reference. Settlements are made with the tax receiver by the mayor, comptroller, auditor and treasurer, and must be made on or before the last day of October each year. (This is the weak spot in the system, as to relist the uncollected bills alone is an onerous job and necessarily slow, with great liability to error, besides taking the entire time of four of the principal officers of the city for several days.)

The system of expenditures is that all claims against the city, except those payable by the sinking fund commissioners, must be made out upon blank forms in duplicate, certified by the heads of the departments and registered by the comptroller, charged to the proper account when registered and forwarded to the general council for allowance. The pay rolls, which include all of the expenses of the departments or institutions, are treated as vouchers made in duplicate. When they reach the council they are referred to the committees of the council, who do the auditing that is done, or rather pass the vouchers upon faith of the certifying officers, they go to the board of aldermen and receive like treatment, then to the mayor for his approval. After the approval of the mayor, they are delivered to the comptroller, who separates the original from the duplicate, delivers the duplicate to the owner and files the original in his office. When this is done the owner takes the duplicate to the auditor, who issues a warrant for the amount, taking his receipt on the back of the voucher.

All money belonging to the city derived from any source whatever must be deposited in the treasury regularly once each day, and is paid out only upon warrants drawn by the auditor and countersigned by the comptroller, except as otherwise specially provided. Prior to the close of 1873, the custom of the general council's auditing bills against the city and directing their payment by the auditor by a mandatory resolution, had prevailed from the time "that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," but at this time had produced such confusion as to demand a change in the system. Then was inaugurated the present system of requiring all bills against the city and all pay-rolls to be made in duplicate on blank forms furnished by the city, certified by the officer or head of the department creating the

bill and sent to the city bookkeeper for registration, who would charge them against the appropriation before they were allowed. The auditor elected in 1870 under the new charter was incapable of keeping the city's general books or formulating any scheme for an improved accounting system. The mayor and general council to remedy this state of affairs employed an accountant, styling him "city bookkeeper." Under the present charter this officer has been called the comptroller, and continues practically the methods of business heretofore described. Unfortunately, however, this is not in accordance with the present charter. The charter makes the auditor the general accountant and the principal disbursing officer of the city, and takes away from the general council the allowance of claims, and makes the comptroller the mayor's fiscal adviser and the supervisor of the fiscal affairs of the city. In this particular the charter is completely ignored.

There is no distinction made between the receipts from capital, such as flotation of loans, and receipts from current sources, such as taxes, and there should not be, for the reason that the only loans floated are temporary, three or four months' loans, pending the assessment and collection of taxes.

The general books should be so kept as to show the city's expectations from all sources, as well as the liabilities of every character, actual or otherwise.

A statement of assets and liabilities is made and published each year. It includes all items of assets and liabilities. More assets are shown by the report of the experts in the comptroller's office than should be by nearly \$10,000,000. The liabilities are about right. My opinion is that a municipal corporation has no assets, except the taxing power. Utilities provided for public use or convenience paid for out of the taxes are extended and enlarged out of the profits on their products, like water and gas; right of way for streets and alleys purchased, pumps, wells, cisterns and fire plugs paid for by the property are not assets. The city can neither sell nor pledge them. School houses are a part of the educational system of the state. The title is in the Louisville school board, who derive their revenue from the city and state, the levy for their benefit being compulsory on the council. The city can exercise no control whatever over this property.

The comptroller's annual report should be merely a resumé of the fiscal division of the various bureaus or departments, each report showing receipts and disbursements, detailed in such form as the comptroller shall require and certified by the chief officer of the bureau or department, marshalled by the comptroller and included in his report as an integral part thereof, to accompany his message to the mayor or council, analyzing and criticising the results of the year's operation.

The auditing of municipal accounts should be made by a commission, composed of an accountant, an engineer and a lawyer. (It is of no consequence to know that every cent received was paid out and a voucher shown for it, if it is not known that all was received that should have been, and paid according to law.) Such an audit would do much to prevent defalca-

tion. As ordinarily conducted, the audit of municipal accounts is not conducive of improvement.

A better system of municipal accounts would require the treasurer to keep no books except the cash book. He should receive money only upon an order from the comptroller or auditor, as the case may be, and disburse the same only upon a warrant from the auditor or comptroller. Collecting officers should not be charged with assessments or bills for collection. An officer, such for instance as a "custodian," should be charged with them, who should report daily to the comptroller or auditor the bills delivered to the collecting officer and collected by him that day.

A uniform system of accounting for all municipalities is not possible. I believe that uniformity would be impossible, unless state legislatures could be induced to fix, under heavy penalties for violation, a schedule of accounts to be kept, and the form of report to be made to some central authority for audit.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

Armour, J. Ogden. *The Packers, the Private Car Lines and the People.* Pp. 380. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Co., 1906.

Bailey, W. B. *Modern Social Conditions.* Pp. 377. Price, \$3.00. New York: Century Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Bullock, Charles J. *Selected Readings in Public Finance.* Pp. viii, 671. Price, \$2.25. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906.

Realizing the inconvenience of being obliged to consult a great variety of sources for a general course in Public Finance, Professor Charles Bullock has sought to bring together into logical form all the best studies in specific problems of public finance. The volume is not intended as a complete course, but as a compendium of the most valuable collateral readings on the problems usually included in such a course.

After discussing the literature of public finance, the author proceeds to concrete financial topics. Two chapters deal with public expenditures. From there the selections logically and very fully treat of the problems of public revenues. The specific problems of public revenues are the classification of revenue, revenue from domains, from public industries, from fees and from taxation. After determining the general propositions concerning taxation and the canons of justice, the various forms of taxation are treated in a most valuable collection of special studies by numerous authors. Corporation taxes, the general property tax, the general income tax, the Ingot Personnel-mobilier, business taxes, corporation taxes, the inheritance tax, taxes upon commodities, customs revenues and the internal revenue system, are lucidly discussed in the various studies. Professor Bullock then proceeds to the problems connected with public borrowing and public debts. The last chapters concern the problems of legislation, disbursement and financial control.

The studies are very carefully selected, and attempt to give in convenient form, without undue bulk, the essential facts of the problems discussed. The book is of great value alike to teachers and students of public finance.

Bureau of American Ethnology. Twenty-third Annual Report, 1901-02. Pp. xlv, 634. Washington: Government Printing Office.

With the exception of the few pages devoted to the usual reports and statements of the work of the bureau, the volume is devoted to an exhaustive and interesting study of the Zuni Indians, their mythology, esoteric fraterni-

ties and ceremonies, by Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson. During a period of many years the writer, at first in company with her husband, since his death, alone, has had opportunities to become intimately acquainted with the inner life of this people. The numerous illustrations greatly enhance the value of the report.

Carrera y Justiz, F. *Estudios de Sociología Municipal*. Pp. 475. Havana: Lib. é Imp. "La Moderna Poesía."
See "Book Reviews."

Carroll, B. H., Jr. *Political History of Europe from 1815 to 1848*, Based on continental authorities. Pp. 221. Price, paper, \$2.00; boards, \$2.50. Waco, Texas: Baylor University, 1906.

Published by the Baylor University Press, this work is in every sense immature. It "does not pretend," it is true, "to be more than a compilation of the best and most accessible and usually untranslated continental authorities." But even on this basis very excellent work can be done.

Judging from the results, the author has made scanty use of the best authorities. His remarkable statement in the preface that the views expressed "sometimes differ so materially" from those found in these, that he "begs leave to assume the responsibility for them," makes one turn to the pages of the work with some apprehension. But a perusal of the text, which, by the way, bristles with typographical and other errors, reveals very little beyond the extravagant expression of personal opinions to warrant such a statement.

The work may have its place as a survey of the history of the period for an elementary class, but should not have been introduced to the general public in its present form.

Conyngton, Mary. *How to Help*. Pp. x, 371. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Ronald Press, 1906.

The writer has for some years been a successful worker in the field of organized charity. Her aim in this volume is "to state, clearly and concisely, the principles which should underlie all relief work, to show how these may be applied in given instances of distress, to give some idea of the agencies for dealing with want likely to be found in any community and to give some account of the principal social and philanthropic movements which present openings for untrained social workers." The book is intended for the untrained volunteer worker.

The matter is arranged in four parts: I. General Principles, 54 pages; II. Application of Principles to Definite Cases, 182 pages; III. Social and Preventive Work, 76 pages; IV. General, 39 pages. A good deal of criticism may be made of the order and proportion of the topics. One is at a loss to understand why such a fundamental topic as "Standard of Living" is put in Part II, and then sandwiched between a chapter on "Care of Needy Families: Desertion," and one on "Widows with Children," and then given but thirteen pages, while ten pages are devoted to "Home Library Clubs," a topic of very

little meaning outside of a very few cities. In lack of sequence and proportion are to be found the book's greatest defects.

The volume is very readable and most interesting. Miss Conyngton is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of modern philanthropy, and this spirit appears on all pages. She has attempted no contribution to our knowledge, but her work as an expositor is well done. The points are made clearer by many happy illustrations. Her suggestions are sane and helpful. Busy people—often out of touch with progressive organizations—yet anxious to make their efforts count—will find the book very stimulating and valuable.

Dennis, James S. *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. Vol. III. Pp. xxxvi, 675. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1906.

The publication of this long-delayed volume marks the completion of the most important treatise on foreign missions ever written. It is hard to see how any fair-minded person reading this volume—better the three—can question the beneficent results of such missions regardless of his own theological conceptions. Dr. Dennis proves that the missionary work has had great social results. Some will say that the new religion has brought the other blessings with it, others that the contact with a different civilization has resulted in higher standards of life. The result is clear whatever the order of procedure.

To collect facts relative to the entire world and accurately reproduce them is no small task, but Dr. Dennis has been remarkably successful. It is not easy to devise a method of presentation which will have a clear impression. Here, perhaps, the volume is open to criticism. One is simply overwhelmed by the evidence. From paragraph to paragraph he jumps from one corner of earth to another until he has the vaguest conception of the exact situation in any one land. Very possibly this is unavoidable in so comprehensive a work.

In this volume the author discusses "The Introduction of Educational Facilities," "The Development of Industrial Training," "University Extension," "Production of Wholesome and Instructive Literature," "The Results on National Life and Character," such as the promotion of legal reform and administration of justice; elevating the standard of public service and contribution to the intellectual and scientific progress of the world. The debt of science to the missionaries is shown to be enormous. Chapter six deals with "Results Affecting the Commercial and Industrial Status," the final chapter being devoted to "Results of Social Value Traceable to Reformed Standards of Religious Faith and Practice." Possibly the numerous and excellent photographic reproductions of schools, hospitals, natives and missionaries carry more convincing power than the text itself. The volume is well indexed and contains a good bibliography of recent works.

Whether as a description of Christian missions or as a source book for students of social progress, this work is invaluable.

Drago, L. M. *Cobro Coercitivo de Deudas Públicas*. Pp. 171. Buenos Aires: Coni Hermanos, 1906.

This volume presents the more important of the Argentine state papers dealing with the forcible collection of public debts. The author is the famous Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, D. Luis M. Drago, the advocate of the so-called Drago or Calvo doctrine. The practice of nations is carefully reviewed and references made to the more important statesmen of Europe and America who have declared in favor of the proposed rule. This the author finds admirably expressed by Alexander Hamilton in the *Federalist*: "The contracts between a nation and private individuals are binding only by the will of the sovereign, and cannot be forcibly collected." The book closes with a plan for the adoption of the new rule into the body of international law by action of The Hague Conference.

Fisher, Irving. *The Nature of Capital and Income.* Pp. xxii, 427. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.
Reserved for later notice.

Guyot, Yves. *Des Caractères de l'Evolution et de la Régression des Sociétés.* Pp. 20. Paris: Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

Guyot, Yves. *Le Collectivisme Futur et le Socialisme Présent.* Pp. 21. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906.

von Halle, E. *Die Weltwirtschaft, ein jahr-und Lesebuch.* Pp. 246. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906.

Instituts Solvay. *Travaux de l'Institut de Sociologie.*

BREES, E. *Les Régies et les Concessions Communales en Belgique.* Pp. xxviii, 556. Price, 12 fr. Bruxelles: Misch & Thron, 1906.

DE LENEER, G. *Ce Qui Manque au Commerce Belge d'Exportation.* Pp. xii, 294. Price, 2.50 fr.

FROMONT, L.-G. *Une Expérience, Industrielle de Réduction de la Journée de Travail, avec une Préface de E. Mahaim.* Pp. xii, 120. Price, 3 fr.

HENRY, CH. *Mesure des Capacités Intellectuelle et Energétique.* Pp. 75.

HOUZÉ, E. *L'Aryen et l'Anthroposociologie.* Pp. 117. Price, 6 fr.

PETRUCCI, R. *Origine Polyphylétique Homotypie et Non Comparabilité directe des Sociétés Animales.* Pp. vii, 126. Price, 5 fr.

PETRUCCI, R. *Les Origines Naturelles de la Propriété.* Pp. xvi, 246. Price, 12 fr.

PRINS, A. *De l'Esprit du Gouvernement Démocratique.* Pp. x, 294. Price, 7.50 fr.

SOLVAY, E. *Note sur des Formules d'Introduction a l'Energétique-Physo- et Psycho-Sociologique.* Pp. 26. Price, 2 fr.

WAXWEILER, E. *Esquisse d'une Sociologie.* Pp. 306. Price, 12 fr.

WODON, L. *Sur Quelques Erreurs de Méthode dans l'Etude de l'Homme Primitif.* Pp. 37. Price, 2.50 fr.

International Co-Operative Bibliography. Pp. xxxii, 276. Price, 7s. 6d. London: P. S. King & Son, 1906.

Johnson, Emory R. *Ocean and Inland Water Transportation*. Pp. xxii, 395. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1906.

This book on Ocean and Inland Water Transportation is a companion volume to the author's text on American Railway Transportation. It falls into two unequal parts, the subject of Ocean Transportation naturally receiving much the more extended treatment. The first portion of the book reviews the history of the development of the various classes of sailing and steam vessels and the improvement of routes of travel by the great ship canals. The ocean transportation service is divided into chapters dealing with the facilities offered for freight, passenger, mail and express traffic.

Detailed consideration is given to the relations of the carriers to one another and to the public. The author believes that a satisfactory development of ocean transportation requires carriers to make agreements with each other regarding rates and service, as otherwise disastrous competition must result. It is also desirable that the railroads should co-operate with the ocean carriers in arrangements for through foreign shipments. The carrying of freight by companies not engaged in "line traffic" preserves to a large extent the competitive character of a private business and serves as a regulator of the rates charged, as well as a supplement to the service offered by companies maintaining regular sailings.

The longest division of the book is that discussing the aid and regulation of ocean commerce and transportation by the national, state and municipal governments. A large amount of space is given to the consideration of our national mercantile marine policy and the causes of the decline of the American marine in the foreign trade. Our failure to compete successfully with foreign nations is said to be due mainly to economic causes, which, with the exception of higher labor cost of construction and operation, may be overcome. After reviewing the experience of foreign countries, the conclusion is reached that the United States might well adopt the policy of selecting the most important ocean trade routes and securing there the operation of efficient lines of steamers by granting liberal subventions. By removing in this way the handicaps under which our builders and owners work—unfavorable legislation and higher rate of wages—American shipping would be placed upon a basis where it could successfully compete with its rivals. All the other factors, geographic, economic and political, determining success, favor the development in the United States of a strong mercantile marine.

The latter part of the book, devoted to Canal, River and Lake Transportation, discusses the facilities offered in these lines in the United States and the possibilities of improvement. These means of transportation may well furnish a service supplemental to that of the railroads, especially in carrying bulky freight not requiring quick movement. Inland water communication should be improved by the construction of large barge canals between our chief natural waterways.

There is appended to each chapter of the book a list of supplemental readings. The volume also contains numerous illustrations, and is made

more concrete by the reproduction of the chief business papers used in conducting ocean transportation.

Laughlin, J. Laurence. *Industrial America.* Pp. xii, 261. Price, \$1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

Professor Laughlin, the head of the Department of Political Science in the University of Chicago, was invited to give a course of lectures in the spring of 1906 in Berlin. The subject matter was to consist of a discussion of industrial problems occupying attention in the United States. This invitation was accepted and the lectures were delivered in German. Professor Laughlin discussed in the lectures included in this volume: "American Competition with Europe," "Protection and Reciprocity," "The Labor Problem," "The Trust Problem," "The Railway Question," "The Banking Problem," "The Present Status of Economic Thinking in the United States." These lectures have been put into English and are here presented as a semi-popular discussion of American problems by a trained economist. The volume is to be commended to all who are seeking to understand these questions.

Lopez de Santa Ana, A. *Mi Historia Militar y Politica 1810-1874.* Pp. viii, 286. Price, 75 cents. Mexico: Genaro Garcia.

Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, herausgegeben von L. Brentano u. W. Lotz. Vols. 71-77, inc.

BOSENICK, A. *Über die Arbeitsleistung beim Steinkohlenbergbau in Preussen.* Pp. 170. Price, 4.20m. Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta, 1906.

HEYEN, R. *Zur Entstehung des Kapitalismus in Venedig.* Pp. 129. Price, 3m.

HÜGLIN, A. *Der Tarifvertrag zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer.* Pp. 278. Price, 6m.

KIMMICH, K. *Die Ursachen des Niedrigen Kursstandes Deutscher Staatsanleihen.* Pp. 357. Price, 8m.

KOCH, F. *Der Londoner Goldverkehr.* Pp. 116. Price, 2.50m.

NITZSCHE, M. *Die Handelspolitische Reaktion in Deutschland.* Pp. 240. Price, 5.60m.

WALLICH, P. *Die Konzentration im Deutschen Bankwesen.* Pp. 173. Price, 4m.

Pepper, Charles M. *From Panama to Patagonia.* Pp. xxii, 399. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1906.

In this work Mr. Pepper has given us the benefit of his observations during a tour through the states of South America. No attempt at an exhaustive examination of any one state on any one subject has been made. The main purpose of the author has evidently been to interest the American public in South American affairs. He has, therefore, combined with general descriptions of persons and places many acute observations on the social and political development of these countries. Our ignorance of the sister republics is so great that a work such as Mr. Pepper's is to be welcomed as a contribu-

tion toward the enlightening of American public opinion. The author has done a real service in demonstrating the remarkable progress of the larger republics during recent years and in showing how the stability of political institutions now offers to foreign investors a vast and rich field. The illustrations have been selected with great care and add considerably to the value of the work.

Pierce, James O. *Studies in Constitutional History.* Pp. viii, 330. Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Co., 1906.

The author of this volume is an ex-judge of the district court of Tennessee and lecturer on constitutional law in the University of Minnesota. The volume is the outgrowth of lectures on Constitutional Jurisprudence and History given in the University of Minnesota during the last eighteen years. Judge Pierce is a firm believer in a Divine Providence controlling and directing national affairs, and he interprets the history of the United States from this standpoint. The volume is, therefore, a study of the development of the United States in the main, beginning with revolutionary times. The author believes that the Americans have advanced beyond their predecessors in broadening the field of representative government. He also believes that the country is destined to bear an important part in hastening the ultimate triumph "of her town type of federation, the pacific type."

Price, W. H. *The English Patents of Monopoly.* Pp. xii, 261. Price \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Ramirez, J. F. *Mexico, Durante su Guerra con los Estados Unidos.* Pp. viii, 322. Price, 75 cents. Mexico: Genaro Garcia.

Rowntree, J., and Sherwell, A. *The Taxation of the Liquor Trade, Vol. I.* Pp. xxii, 537. Price, \$3.25. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

In this volume the authors, who have so long and so successfully worked together in their studies of the liquor problem, discuss the question of taxation in so far as it relates to public houses, hotels, restaurants, theaters, railway bars, and clubs. It is not too much to say that the result is one of the most important books upon the subject ever produced. The authors are Englishmen, and have therefore the situation in England chiefly in mind, but the study is by no means limited to England. It is very doubtful whether there exists elsewhere, in so convenient form, information relative to the systems of taxation by the different states of this country.

Perchance the most striking thing brought out by the study is the singular failure of the English government to adequately tax the liquor trade. It has failed to realize that the reduction of licenses, which has actually resulted in a decrease of public houses in England, might very properly have been accomplished by a great increase in the revenue received therefrom, which, however, is not the case. The contrast of the revenue receipts of the municipalities and states of America and of England is strikingly set forth by excellent colored charts. The statistical information has seemingly been

gathered with great care. The work deserves a most careful consideration of all students of the liquor problem, and all who have in any way to do with legislation affecting the liquor traffic.

"In a second volume, the writers hope to deal with the whole of the remaining retail liquor licenses, including both 'on' and 'off' licenses, and the various wholesale liquor licenses. While in another volume it is hoped to make a detailed examination of the beer and spirit duties."

Shambaugh, B. F., Ed. *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*. Pp. xxv, 341. Iowa City: State Historical Society, 1906.

Ward, L. F. *Applied Sociology*. Pp. xxviii, 384. Price, \$2.50. New York: Ginn & Co., 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Ward, L. F. *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. Second Edition. Pp. xxiii, 369. Price, \$2.50. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906.

Elsewhere in this number of THE ANNALS Dr. Ward's latest book is reviewed. It is a pleasure to note here a reprint of an earlier work. Originally published in 1893, as the result of the author's attempt to estimate the psychological factors in society, it has found a great circle of readers. The author says that "the advance in psychology since 1893 has, however, been along lines widely different from those followed in this work." He, therefore, wisely decided not to alter the text. Not merely because of its place in Professor Ward's development of sociology, but for its own merits this work will continue to be widely used. It is most suggestive and stimulating. The difficult terminology of "Pure Sociology" is absent. It may be assumed that every student of sociology is or should be familiar with the work. The binding is uniform with "Applied Sociology."

Webb, W. L. *The Economics of Railroad Construction*. Pp. viii, 339. Price, \$2.50. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Wells, H. G. *In the Days of the Comet*. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Co., 1906.

A love story, written in the imaginative vein of the author. At first the existing social and economic conditions of England form the basis of what little plot there is. Then, through the magical influence of a comet, the nature of man changes, hate disappears, love is magnified, and all is well. The volume is scarcely to be considered as the portrayal of an ideal commonwealth; nor as a serious study of social conditions, while as a love story it is pretty weak.

Whiteing, Richard. *Ring In the New*. Pp. 347. Price \$1.50. New York: The Century Co., 1906.

Neither in plot nor telling is this novel to be compared to the author's earlier volume, "No. 5 John Street." An orphan girl, thrown on her own resources in London, struggles on to a marriage with a successful man who wins a place in Parliament as a labor representative. Mr. Whiteing knows

the difficulties of the great city for the untrained bread-winner, but his present attempt to give this knowledge literary form is a pretty flat failure.

Williams, James M. *An American Town.* Pp. 251. New York: Published by the author, 1906.

The author, formerly a Fellow in Sociology in Columbia University, has in connection with his graduate work, made this sociological study of a small town of rural New York. In order to get the information he spent some years living in the town, and the result is a very interesting volume of considerable value. The author has given us a little bit of the social history of the town and the community, dividing it into two periods—from the settlement to 1875 and from 1875 on. This date being taken because of certain economic changes which mark the second period from the first. In method the author has closely followed Professor Giddings. Those who are familiar with the terminology of the latter will have no difficulty, but the reader unacquainted with the work of Professor Giddings will occasionally stumble upon technical expressions which are more or less puzzling. The volume here presented is but a part of the larger work the author is preparing. What we need, as the author suggests, is more field work in sociology. This volume is valuable because it is an illustration of careful, conscientious field work, even if occasionally the conclusions seem unwarranted. Further volumes will be awaited with interest.

REVIEWS.

Avery, Elroy McKendree. *A History of the United States and Its People.* In fifteen volumes. Vol II. Pp. xxxviii, 458. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1905.

The second volume of Mr. Avery's ambitious work treats of the period 1600 to 1660, the period of Champlain's enterprises in New France, of the foundation of Virginia, New England, New Netherlands, and New Sweden, and of the establishment and early activities of the New England Confederation. The strong feature of this volume, as of its predecessor, is—aside from the work of the publishers—the accuracy and detail of the author's narrative. Certain of its limitations are also among those of the earlier volumes and seem, therefore, likely to characterize the entire work. They are: First, the author's lack of assured perspective and his consequent inability to impart emphasis, selection, and organization to his work; secondly, his attempts to vary the monotony inevitable in a narrative devoid of the above mentioned qualities by constant recourse to the phraseology of others or to awkward trivialities; and, thirdly, his disposition to abdicate to others the historian's essential function of passing judgment, without at the same time distinguishing at all between the purely personal opinions of those whom he quotes and their documented verdicts.

Nothing could be more inconsequential than such a practice, as a few specimens will show. On page 259 we are informed that one of Printz's letters to Winthrop "is described by Gregory B. Keen as more amiable than

truthful." On page 268 we learn that "Irving B. Richman tells us that in that presence [that of the Massachusetts theocracy, apparently] Williams stood 'perplexed, indignant, weapon drawn, challenging it by every instinct of his nature and at every point.'" On page 284 we are informed that "Mr. Richman tells us that it was a time of Tom, Dick and Harry turned preacher." On page 290 we are told, again on the weighty authority of Mr. Richman, that "henceforth it was hot times at Shawomet." Such quotations might be multiplied almost indefinitely. On page 269 there are three absolutely useless citations of other writers, and on the next page there are two. Is it necessary to say that modern historians have long since rejected such mediæval practices? When a historian pronounces a verdict it must be upon his own responsibility; this is the fundamental condition of progress. Of course Mr. Avery's obvious purpose in some cases is merely to levy requisitions upon another's phraseology. The effect in most cases is not happy.

One of the shortcomings of the earlier volume was its neglect of the transatlantic background of American beginnings. In the present volume a commendable effort has been made to remedy this deficiency. Thus Chapter II bears the title "The Evolution of a Colonial System," and Chapter V treats of the "Growth of Separatism in England." These turn out to be, however, the two weakest chapters in the book. The former is hardly more than a chronological account of the change of designation of the various colonial commissions of the British executive. Scant mention is made of the point of view from which the British Government viewed its colonies, and none of how this was affected by political changes in Great Britain. Also an antiquated classification of the colonies is made. In the chapter on Separatism, which is more accurately an account of the development of Non-conformity, an opportunity to display the underlying ideas of Puritanism as they emerge in gradual development is entirely thrown away, much to the diminution of the author's comprehension of Puritanism in Massachusetts. In this same connection, one notable omission of the present volume, is that of any discussion of the trading company in general, though the part played by this type of commercial organization in furthering the settlement of Jamestown directly and in masking the Puritan enterprise in Massachusetts would seem to call for some explanation, or at least mention, of its evident vogue in these years.

In his "Introduction," Mr. Avery contends that the unity of our colonial history should compel "its study by what Mr. Sloane well describes as 'transverse sections rather than by longitudinal fibers.'" It is unfortunate that in two or three cases Mr. Avery has seen fit to depart from this principle. One of these is furnished by Chapter II, already mentioned. An account of the machinery that the British Government elaborated in the course of the seventeenth century to deal with its colonies, even if it were eventually to take the form of an isolated monograph, is certainly out of place while Jamestown is still waiting to be founded. By dividing the subject matter of Chapters XIII, XVI and XVII into three parallel narratives, entitled respectively, "Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson," "Massachusetts Troubles,"

and the "Puritan and the Heretic," the author doubtless makes his task easier, but he also misses many of the interactions of event which it should be the historian's keenest pleasure to trace, and he strips the situation which he chooses thus to portray in artificial sections, of its greatest significance, its entity.

A few minor criticisms may be briefly set down. There is a commendable diminution in the number of imaginative pictures and tag-ends of irrelevant verse, as compared with the previous volume. The account, on page 37, of the makeup of the Superior London Council is not complete. The statement on page 53 that "under this charter of 1609, modified by that of 1612, Virginia held until the formation of the federal constitution in 1788" (*sic*) is of doubtful import, but perfectly absurd under any interpretation. One would like to know upon what authority Mr. Avery states, in reference to the purchase of wives at Jamestown that, "of course, a debt thus incurred was looked upon as a debt of honor" (p. 71). Also with what warrant he declares (p. 94) that the Anglicans were fewer than the Puritans in Elizabeth's time, especially since the Puritans were themselves Anglican at that time. Also, what reason he has for asserting that the "Mayflower" compact was not a social compact. The account given of the so-called Navigation Act of 1660 (12 Chas. II, c. 18), on pages 191-93, furnishes proof positive that Mr. Avery is unacquainted with George L. Beer's *Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies*, though he lists that work in his Bibliography for Chapter II. To characterize the Dutch West India Company, because of its instructions to Stuyvesant to confer public trust upon only those of Dutch nationality, as "the great precursor of the Know Nothing party of two centuries later" (pp. 238-9), sounds rather far-fetched, if not puerile. Of similar character is the account on page 310 of the "first naval engagement on the New England coast," and, on page 393, of "our first intimation of the American 'taxdodger'"—though these are possibly attempts at facetiousness. "Semi-social, half commercial" (p. 71) is bad English; so, also, is the strange medley of tenses in the last sentence but one on page 79; likewise the ablative absolute at the bottom of page 159. "Williams returned to Salem and much tribulation" (page 268) is, of course, a deliberate offense; "'twere well it were done quickly" (p. 350) is more venial.

The publishers have done their part in the construction of this volume even more satisfactorily than before. There is probably but one typographical error in the entire text of the narrative (p. 188, second paragraph, sixth line, the word "become"). The maps are extremely fine. Special mention should be accorded the general maps at the close of the narrative part of the volume. These are the work of Albert Cook Myers, and amount to an important contribution.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

Princeton, November 14, 1906.

Bailey, William B. *Modern Social Conditions*. Pp. 377. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Century Company, 1906.

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Professor Bailey has added a much-needed volume to the inadequate American literature on the subject of Statistics, and the book will be useful as a text for college courses in this important and developing field of study. The first chapter is devoted to a very comprehensive discussion of the theory of statistics, and the various methods employed by statisticians are briefly characterized. The special applicability of each one is pointed out in part, but the criticisms are meager, and much has been left unsaid in reference to the legitimate use of a particular method. An appropriate account of the value and importance of graphic representation is included, together with good illustrative examples.

The title of the book is a somewhat ambitious one, and comprehends a much larger field than the one actually covered by this volume, which is confined quite exclusively to the study of demographic conditions. The ground covered is, however, treated in a thorough manner. Part of the work of Professor Mayo-Smith has thus been effectually supplemented. From the recent accumulation of American vital statistics the author has selected the most adaptable material, and this, together with the more recent European data, combine to give us an up-to-date demographic study valuable to both student and lay reader.

The discussions of mortality from occupations, deaths from injury, and infant mortality are valuable, and should be particularly useful to the investigator who is striving to ameliorate social conditions. Fecundity of marriage likewise receives a well-deserved treatment. The student could wish that more of the field included under Social Conditions were covered by statistical investigation so that the sociologist might be provided with additional necessary data. Judged intrinsically, however, the book not only justifies its appearance, but strongly commends itself to the use of every student of demography.

The author's style is simple, and the volume is crowded with information. In fact the data are often compelled to speak too largely for themselves. A stronger emphasis upon their interpretation and practical bearing would have heightened the interest of the book. On the other hand, the theoretical discussion avoids all irritating mathematical complexities.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD.

University of Pennsylvania.

Carrera y Justiz, F. *Estudios de Sociología Municipal*. Pp. 475. Habana: Lib. é Imp. "La Moderna Poesia," 1906.

This series of studies in municipal government cannot fail to be of interest to students of comparative institutions. The author, Dr. Carrera y Justiz, has been identified with the movement for reform in municipal affairs in Cuba, and was one of the founders of the Association for Good City Government. His wide knowledge of the peculiar problems confronting the Cuban cities gives weight to his statements, and familiarity with the experience in other countries makes his suggestion for reform especially valuable. The esteem in which his opinion is held in Cuba is instanced

by the action of the Cuban House of Representatives which delayed the discussion of the municipal law for three days to enable its committees to hold conferences with the author.

Dr. Carrera y Justiz deplors the concentration of political interest in the central government of the island to the detriment of the local governments. The awakening of neighborhood feeling he considers as essential not only for a system of good city government in the island but even for its internal peace. Spanish and American experience in municipal government he holds should be warnings and not models for Cuba to follow. A system defining a sphere of municipal activity with which the central government could not interfere should be the ideal toward which Cuba should strive. Interesting chapters are presented on The Importance of Suburbs, The Race Question in Cuban Municipalities, The City and the Working Classes, Mutual Aid Societies in Cuba, The Position of Woman in Politics and in City Life, and Universal Suffrage.

Typical of the spirit in which the author writes is his discussion of the part woman can play and should play in our civic life. The activity of the American woman in public art and hygiene and in charity work is especially praised. Dr. Carrera warmly advocates the extension of the right of suffrage to women at least in municipal elections.

As a whole, the volume may be characterized as a very interesting and sympathetic portrayal of the conditions and needs of Cuban local government, written by one with an intimate knowledge of the subject of which he treats.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Constitutional Decisions of John Marshall. Edited, with an introductory essay, by Joseph P. Cotton, Jr. Two vols. Pp. xxxvi, 462, and viii, 464. Price, \$10.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Professor Burgess has said that the amending clause is the most important part of a written constitution. A constitution may be faulty in its other parts; but if the amending power is properly provided for in the constitution the errors may easily be corrected. Judge Story and others have praised unreservedly the amending clause in the Constitution of the United States. With this view Professor Burgess disagrees. The first twelve amendments were almost contemporaneous with the constitution itself, and really a completion of it. The last three were enacted only as the result of civil war. The conditions which now exist are totally different from those which existed when the constitution was adopted. The corresponding changes required in the constitution have not been made except when the ponderous machinery provided has been put in motion by the hand of revolution. Nothing more is required to show that the amending clause in the Constitution of the United States has been a flat failure. Mr. Hannis Taylor has recently said: "Nothing is more generally admitted in the politics of this country than the fact that any reform is practically hopeless that depends upon the amend-

ment, under normal conditions, of the Constitution of the United States." And yet we are told that the constitution was intended "to live and take effect in all successions of ages,"—that is, to become adapted to all varying conditions and crises through which the state might pass. This it has done, so that to-day it is more firmly established as the fundamental law of the state than in the years immediately following its adoption. How has this result been accomplished? The key to the answer is to be found in the volumes which are the subject of this review.

"The legitimate functions of judge-made law," to borrow the title of Mr. Hannis Taylor's address before the Virginia Bar Association in 1905, are well illustrated in the constitutional decisions of John Marshall. Thus early the power of judicial interpretation was brought into play to adapt the rigid, written Federal constitution to the needs of the growing state. A power of action from which there is no appeal except by impeachment is undoubtedly a dangerous weapon if unwisely wielded. One can scarcely imagine the consequences that might have resulted if an unscrupulous hand had possessed Marshall's power in the early days of the republic. Happily, Marshall possessed the qualities essential to the great office to which President Adams, in 1801, appointed him. The great fame to which Marshall attained has, however, often clouded the judgment of men of later days as to his intellect and powers. It cannot be said that he was less fallible or more learned and sincere than many others of his time. In fact, it is a fortunate circumstance that his decisions had a distinct Federalist coloring—fortunate because he was thus led to the constructive work of making a strong nation out of a weak confederacy. The part that he played in creating a strong national government and in limiting and defining the powers of the commonwealths is, of course, his greatest achievement. But this was accomplished by an interpretation of the constitution, as involved in the cases brought before him, not always the result of unquestionable legal reasoning. In many cases, merely as lawyer, he might have reached an opposite conclusion. At a time when the Federalists had gone out of power, and when many of his decisions were not only strenuously opposed but completely disregarded by a large part of the people, it is difficult to see how he could have conceived himself to be interpreting the will of the people. Wonderful as the fact is, history has justified this claim which has been made for him. His work was, however, quite as much political as judicial. He exercised the presence of a statesman through the medium of judicial interpretation.

Within the limits of this review, it would be impossible to justify the above general statements by an examination of the particular cases that he decided; and it will not be attempted. More than is necessary has already been said to warrant the statement that a compilation of the constitutional decisions of Marshall is well worth the making. We are told in the editor's preface that the constitutional decisions of Marshall, both in the Supreme Court and on circuit, are now completely collected for the first time. There are thirty-seven cases decided in the Supreme Court and reported in 1-7 Cranch, 1-12 Wheaton, and 1-7 Peters. In addition there are six cases

decided by Marshall on circuit in Virginia, while Chief Justice. These cases are reported in 1-2 Brockenbrough. The cases extend over a period of thirty years. These the editor has arranged chronologically, the decisions in the Circuit Court being placed in an appendix. To each case is prefixed an historical and critical note. The advantages that might have resulted from a subject arrangement of the cases are obtained by references in these notes to allied cases, and by an index to close volume two. The introduction of thirty pages is a critical review of all the decisions. Marshall's prestige has not overawed Mr. Cotton, and he does not hesitate to differ with the great jurist on occasion. Marshall's one dissenting opinion in these volumes—that of *Ogden vs. Saunders*, in which he denied the right of the commonwealths to grant discharges in bankruptcy when the United States had not exercised that right, is held by Mr. Cotton to be in error. In the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, the opinion of Justice Johnson is given at the close of Marshall's opinion. It concurred in the final judgment, but is believed to be the better course of legal reasoning. There are many other instances indicating that the editor has approached his work from an impartial and judicial standpoint.

It seems captious to mention two typographical errors—in volume one, page 255, where "1858" is printed for "1758," and in volume two, page 1, where "1875" appears instead of "1775." The cover of volume two should be labeled "1823-1833" instead of "1823-1830." The volumes are an addition to the series of works of the "Founders of the Republic," published by Putnam. They are uniform in typography and binding with the excellent editions of the writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jay, and are issued for subscribers in a limited edition of 600 numbered copies.

FREDERICK C. HICKS.

Newport, Rhode Island.

Garner, James Wilford, and Lodge, Henry Cabot. *The History of the United States, with an Historical Review*, by John Bach McMaster. Four Vols. Pp. 1881. Price, \$16.00. Philadelphia: John D. Morris & Co., 1906.

This work is a consecutive narrative history of the rise and growth of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time. Much space, possibly too much, is given to recent and current events, a part of volume three and all of volume four being given to the period since the Civil War. Volume I brings the narrative down to the Declaration of Independence; Volume II to the administration of W. H. Harrison, or the period of "Whig Ascendency." The work abounds in beautiful, carefully selected, and well described illustrations from paintings by the world's most celebrated artists; it also contains a series of colored and outline maps, which show care and accuracy in preparation and which are valuable supplements to the text. Besides the pictures and maps, the illustrations include about one hundred facsimiles, many of which are rare. Another feature of the

work, which especially commends it, is the very excellent bibliography and few pages of critical discussion of the best authorities on United States history. In addition to the many references to standard authors given throughout the work, this bibliography contains a list of histories and authors on special periods and topics: the aborigines, New England, middle colonies, church and state, social and economic life, etc. Volume IV has more than one hundred pages of index, which in itself contains much valuable information, giving, under separate heads, lists of the governors, colonial, territorial and state, of every commonwealth in the Union. The index has not, however, been prepared with sufficient care and accuracy in page references and in other details, *e. g.*, the discussion of squatter sovereignty is not found on page 1034, Vol. III, the place indicated by the index. The initials of several of the governors, notably for some of those now in office, are wrong.

In spite of the evidences of care on the part of the authors, a few inaccurate statements have crept into the work, *e. g.*, "In 1803 the war was renewed . . . Napoleon went down to defeat ten years later at Waterloo" (p. 711, Vol. II). Also, in speaking of Thomas Jefferson and his relation to the University of Virginia, the statement is made that he founded this University "many years before" his retirement from the presidency of the United States (pp. 676, 720, Vol. II). The University of Virginia, founded in 1819, did not go into operation until 1825, and it was in reality "the darling child of his (Jefferson's) old age." Favorite expressions, as "sanguinary struggle" and "*carte blanche*" occur with such frequency as to attract notice. Repetitions, if not verbatim yet essentially the same in thought, give the impression that the work could have been reduced to a less number of volumes.

The work is a fair and judicious interpretation of the works of standard and authentic authors. It is in no way based on original investigation, and is intended "for the general reader, not for the historical specialist." It is written in an interesting style and shows a large perspective of the leading events and general trend of our history. Undue emphasis has not been placed upon the material and economic development of our country, and due attention has been paid to the political side, but, regardless of this feature, the work is singularly free from partisan prejudice.

The introduction is an ingenuous essay on the character of the past and present investigations and writings in American history. It shows how the general indifference to such work and the utter dependence upon things European has been gradually shaken off, and how a spirit of historical research has been aroused. Emphasis is placed upon the fact that the national consciousness, aroused as a consequence of the Civil War, has greatly furthered and visibly changed the trend of that partial national awakening which followed the War of 1812, and that it was not until this later awakening that the Constitution was accepted in its broader sense, and not until then that deference to foreign opinion, and colonial habits of mind, was finally abandoned. This change is seen in the awakening of the college-bred man to a pride in his coun-

try's history and in the independence and initiative which our nation has assumed in world politics; the latter being manifest by the persistent efforts of our Chief Executive in terminating hostilities between two of the world's great powers.

Most of Vol. I has to do with "Planting the Colonies" and with their subsequent government. In this volume one of the apparent objects of the work throughout is accomplished by giving due, and consequently almost equal, consideration to the historical events of both the North and the South. Settlements and government in the former section are made to hinge about Massachusetts; in the latter, about Virginia. In a striking way analogies in their relation to these central colonies and in their dependence thereon, are shown between New Hampshire and Maine, on the one hand, and North Carolina and South Carolina on the other. The curious contrasts of New England seeking religious freedom, though manifesting a spirit of intolerance, and of southern society based upon slavery, yet exhibiting a spirit of the strongest liberty, are shown. The chapter on colonial life is interesting and instructive.

The narrative of the Revolution is followed by two excellent chapters, one "The Transformation from Colonies to States," the other "The Establishment of the Republic." The impracticability of the *staaten bund*, the union under the Articles of Confederation, is pointed out, also the fact that the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 did not create a *Bundesstaat*, but a government in which the spheres of both the national and state governments were marked out by a written constitution, thus making each individual citizen subject to two jurisdictions and to two sets of authorities with an allegiance to both. This is followed by a discussion of how the public gradually became divided into two great political parties, each contending for its peculiar interpretation of the Federal Constitution, and of how our relations, both foreign and domestic, were shaped by these two political schools.

The conventional practice of dividing this early formative period of United States history into administrations has, in this work, been abandoned, and it is treated under the more expressive heads: "Federalist Supremacy" (1797-1801), "Republicanism" (1801-1812), "The Era of Good Feeling and Industrial Development" (1816-1824), "The Rise of the Democratic Party" (1824-1828), and the "Jacksonian Epoch" (1828-1840). Much importance is attached to the periods from 1816 to 1828. In the discussion of these periods the partial awakening to a national consciousness is described; it is also shown how the great questions which were to become national issues had their birth, how politics shaped themselves to prepare for the passing of the European trained statesman and for the coming of the Jacksonian politician of the Van Buren stripe, and how the West rapidly arose to a position where it furnished presidents and held the balance of power in both houses of Congress.

Vol. III continues the topical treatment under the heading "Whig Ascendancy," in which the conservative rise against one man prerogative and

the popular usurpation of power is described. Then follows the narrative of how the party seeking honesty in politics and in the administration of government gradually yielded to the allurements of the spoils of office and to the glory of political victory and of how Whiggism thus degenerated into a winning machine.

Reconstruction history is treated in a manner which shows that the authors are acquainted with the results and conclusions of recent investigation in this field. Dr. Garner has used, with good results, his special knowledge of this phase of United States history in putting into a general work matter heretofore found only in monographs and in local histories.

CHARLES H. AMBLER.

Johnston, Alexander. *American Political History, 1763-1876.* Edited and supplemented by James Albert Woodburn. In two parts: I. The Revolution, the Constitution, and the Growth of Nationality, 1763-1832. Pp. xii, 446. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Alexander Johnston could ask for no finer tribute to his scholarship than is signified in the publication of this volume of his miscellaneous essays herein assembled and edited and supplemented by Professor Woodburn. With exception of a brief introduction, some interpolations or addenda, a chapter on "The Monroe Doctrine" by the editor and Mr. Worthington C. Ford's study of "The American System: Internal Improvements and the Tariff," the contents consist of Professor Johnston's contribution to Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political and Social Science*. Prepared originally as separate studies of particular phases of the nation's political evolution, with probably no design of correlation, they nevertheless afford us, when thus brought together, an excellent compendium of the major facts and predominant influences determining the political developments of our national career.

In the first division are found accounts of the causes and consequences of the Revolution, the careers of the Continental Congress and the Continental Congress and the Confederation, the territories and the ordinance of 1787, and the Constitutional Convention. The administrations of Washington and Adams are dealt with in chapters relating to the organization of the new government and Hamilton's Financial Treasures, Foreign Affairs, the Breach with France, the Alien and Sedition Laws and the rise and growth of the political parties. In the second division are found chapters on the decline of the Federal party, the acquisition of Louisiana, the development of the judiciary, the struggle for neutral rights, Jackson and the Bank and Calhoun and Nullification, together with the editor's chapter on the Monroe Doctrine and Mr. Ford's contribution. The exigencies governing the author in their preparation account largely no doubt for the remarkable compression that characterizes the several studies; the style is concise, the narrative compact, and the discussion penetrating and rigorous. The solid worth of the author's contributions is shown by the infrequency of editorial corrections.

The editor's method of indicating his additions to the text leaves the reader in perplexity at times. One wonders as to the special significance of the []'s about "Ed." on page 321 and their absence elsewhere, *e. g.* on pp. 55, 68, 258. What does the bar mean on page 355 and the absence of the "Ed."? Did Mr. Ford contribute only the portion preceding or only that succeeding? Brackets would indicate editorial insertions more definitely than bars or dashes midway of the page. Is it correct to say, as is done in the bibliography (p. 391) that "there is no good history of the finances of the country in the English language"? We shall, doubtless, have more elaborate and minute treatises exhibiting the history of our national finances, but few will excel in scholarship and style, in breadth of view and solid discussion Professor Dewey's "Financial History."

Those who insist on precise definitions and the logic of the principles of international law in dealing with American diplomatic problems may object to sundry assumptions of the author and of the editor. There is no "right" of expatriation (p. 290) for which we contended with England from 1793 to 1815 (and later with Germany) if a state has complete sovereign power over its subjects. It is a "privilege" that may be conceded and bargained for. When England, however, extended her right of search and seizure as regards contraband and stopped our merchant vessels on the high seas in order to spy out and seize her recreant subjects she assumed a "right" that nullified our sovereign jurisdiction over vessels on the high seas and all who put themselves under the protection of our flag. We doubt if "discovery, occupation and exploration are the facts" (p. 325) that afford the grounds of original title in claims to national territory. Neither discovery nor exploration, nor both, give valid title unless followed by annexation and settlement. Such facts may constitute important evidence indicating national intention to secure title by occupation. In his presentation of the "Monroe Doctrine" Professor Woodburn seems to assume that there are solid juristic grounds for our celebrated policy. He takes (p. 336) without question the threatened expulsion of Napoleon's forces from Mexico as an explicit assertion of the authority of the Monroe Doctrine, when as a matter of fact Secretary Seward did not so much as refer to Monroe's pronouncement. He placed our proposed action on the ground of naked elemental right of self-preservation—a basis far more satisfactory and substantial than the specious arguments usually put forward as the sanctions of the Monroe Doctrine. It is difficult to reconcile Professor Woodburn's assertion (p. 327) that the Doctrine "does not assert that European powers may not gain by treaty purchase or conquest any territory from any American state" with his citations from President Cleveland and Secretary Olney (339) that it is "the traditional policy" of this government that "no European power shall forcibly possess itself of American soil." The truth is, Americans have been prone to exalt their claims and wants into "natural rights," and to insist that international law warrants their contentions, *e. g.*, the alleged right to free navigation of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, to

coast privileges for fishing off the New Foundland Banks and to authority to exclude other nations from the Behring seal fisheries.

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Jones, Chester Lloyd. *The Consular Service of the United States: Its History and Activities.* Pp. ix, 126. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1906.

This is a timely and scholarly monograph based on a careful study of documentary sources, interviews with officials of the consular service and on personal observation of American consulates in Europe. It contains a concise and accurate sketch of the history of the United States consular service from the appointment of Silas Deane by the Continental Congress in 1776 as special commissioner to France down to the year 1906. It is somewhat unfortunate, however, that it appeared a little too early to include a discussion of the consular law enacted at the recent session of Congress, the late disclosures in some of the consulates in the Orient and the creation of the United States district court in China. If the monograph goes to a second edition, however, as it doubtless will, these matters may be incorporated in the new edition. Mr. Jones starts out with an extended review of the growth of the consular service, discussing the various acts of Congress relating to the organization of the service, notably those of 1792 and 1856, and pointing out the weaknesses of each law and the way in which it was sought to remedy such defects. Then follow in succession chapters dealing with the present organization of the service, the rights and duties of consuls, the exercise of consular jurisdiction in the East, consular assistance to foreign trade, European consular systems, and needed improvements in the American system. He describes at length the frauds that have been perpetrated through the practice of undervaluation, the abuses of the fee system and the lack of adequate supervision and classification. He then traces the movement for reform, beginning with the Patterson report of 1868, and including the executive orders of 1895 and 1905, to which should now be added the act of 1906 and the order recently issued in pursuance thereof. The abuses of consular jurisdiction in the East are pointed out and the proper remedies therefor are stated. These reforms will be partially accomplished, it is hoped, by the establishment of a United States court at Shanghai and the recent order requiring an examination in the principles of the common law by applicants for consular positions in countries where the United States exercises consular jurisdiction.

Mr. Jones' study of the European consular system is interesting and full of lessons to the United States. He shows that in most of the European states special training is required for the consular service, that the service is more in the nature of a career than in this country, that more adequate salaries and allowances are provided in those countries, and that, generally, pensions are provided for those who from age or other causes are compelled to retire from the service. Mr. Jones emphasizes a significant fact that the

growth of American manufactures and the consequent demand for new markets has entirely altered the function of the consul. Within the last fifty years he has become more and more a missionary of trade, as the protection of American citizens abroad has declined relatively in importance while the duty of advancing American commerce abroad has increased correspondingly.

As a means of improving the consular service, Mr. Jones suggests that admission to the service be conditioned upon examinations of such a character as to test the ability of the consul to understand business conditions and needs; that a knowledge of the local language be required; that promotion be based on merit rather than seniority, or at least by merit as well as seniority; that the service should, as far as practicable, be made permanent in order that the government may avail itself of the advantage of experience acquired by consuls through long service; that provision should be made for ultimate retirement upon pension, and that an adequate system of inspection should be provided. Some of the reforms proposed, notably those relating to classification, abolition of the fee system, adequate inspection, restriction of appointments to American citizens, admission upon examination and promotion on the basis of merit, and others, have been provided for, partially at least, in the new law, and the executive order issued to put it into operation. It is unfortunate, however, that political influences in Congress prevented the enactment of a measure which would have placed the service entirely on the merit basis. Nevertheless President Roosevelt has done much to introduce the merit system, and his recent order shows that he intends to go to the limit of his constitutional powers in elevating the service to a still higher plane.

J. W. GARNER.

University of Illinois.

Lloyd, Henry Demarest. *Man, The Social Creator*. Pp. vi, 279. Price, \$2.00. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906.

To an intimate friend now and then, the late Henry D. Lloyd expressed his intention to write a book on religion. It was no surprise, therefore, at his untimely death to find a mass of manuscripts devoted to that end. Whenever they were written, at intervals during the last ten years of his life, it was when he was at his best. The loftiness of spirit and sententiousness of style indicate moments of exceptional clarity of vision and elevation of soul. Beneath the injustices and inhumanities which kindled the wrath that fairly scorches some pages of his other books, he dwells in this one among the far deeper motives resident in normal humanity. Above the heat and dust of the lists in which with chivalric courage he struck and suffered knightly blows, he soars at these times amidst the anticipated conquests of truth and justice. Aside from the fierce struggles for the rights of the many against the wrongs of the few, he here fairly revels in the conquests of love already achieved and in evidence everywhere. And turning from all the penetrating insight of the patriot, all the withering sarcasm of the

pleader, all the relentless pursuit of the prosecutor for the people, he becomes the seer. To the faint-hearted and over-borne, beside whom he fought all his life, as well as to those blinded by the pride of power, he points out forces, partly active, but mostly latent, which yet ever seem to him to be more than adequate to right the wrongs of man to man and establish the brotherhood of the race.

These forces are to him religious. Nothing less or lower is fundamental, permeating, and unifying enough to gather and hold and lead the hearts of men together for the promotion of real progress. Some theologians will fail to recognize his characterization of these forces to be religious. It is more humanitarian than theocratic. "Man is not *the* creator, nor the creator of all; evolution would have been glad to abolish God altogether, but now sees that God must be included in its scheme." "God made, man makes." While the personality of God is not denied, neither is it affirmed more explicitly than in these sentences we have quoted. "The religion of the future," he affirms, "is to be the religion of the past, but continued, expanded." In its expansion it transcends all creeds, all churches, all occasional expression, all merely technical tests, as of something apart, and becomes human life—the religion of humanity. To him, as to Henry Drummond, of whose "Ascent of Man" this book reminds us, "God does not live in gaps." Quoting Emerson, "Let religion cease to be occasional," he adds, "Religion now becomes the sum of all human aspirations, worship the sum of all human services, and all the workers are the worshipers." Religion, if not theology, may well be thankful to such as he for every assurance that all life is so permeated by the essentially religious instinct that "we may dismiss our ecclesiastical worries about the decay of religion."

The political scientists and economists will, with the theologians, look equally in vain for the terminology or classifications of their crafts. Indeed, there is no more evidence of a conventionally political state, or of a technical political economy than there is of an ecclesiastical church in the purview of this social seer. Although in his "Labor Co-partnership," his "A Country without Strikes," and his "Newest England," he has contributed to the data of these sciences, here he deals only with the primal causes, the elemental forces, and the ultimate tendencies of which our political organizations and economic systems are but partial and transitional products. Perhaps the most serious criticism due the book is for ignoring the present necessity and essential value of any institutional expression, formulation, propaganda, or defense of religious, political, or economic ideals and conditions. Nevertheless, under the titles of these chapters, much may be learned by the sociologist on "Mere contact making for spiritual union," and "Social Love creating new forms of Social Life"; by the political economist on "The new conscience in industry" and "A new political economy predicting a new wealth"; by the political scientists, not to say the politicians, on "The new conscience transforming politics," and by the theologian on "Social progress always religious," "The church of the deed," "The religion of labor." No more susceptible to scientific measurements or the criticism of the schools is this

volume than the vision of the seer, the preon of the poet, the alchemy of the lover of men. And yet not more elusive and no less practical than life itself, the author shows love proving itself to be the most potently practical, everywhere applicable, definitely organizable, and socially effective force, natural to and at the command of mankind. To give this force its political, economic and religious organization, utility and supremacy is the divine prerogative of "Man, The Social Creator."

What such a single seer senses will become experience and history to more and more of us, as our social and moral evolution progresses. For it promises to fulfill his hope, "To be consummated by the discovery of love in something of the way heat, light and electricity have been recently discovered and applied. Men are at last becoming conscious of love—till now a blind force. Love has been one of the arts, it is now passing into the domain of conscious science. Men are learning its laws, and, from that knowledge, are endowing themselves with the conscious creative power, with which they can guide it to new uses and into new combinations. They see that they may rest in their scientific ability to predict and compel results, instead of having as before, to wait to stumble into it. Just before us are as great inventions, discoveries, prosperity, growth, happiness, in the moral domain of this social force, as have lately come to us in the material domain of mechanical force."

In such sublime confidence this true knight errant of social democracy fell on the field of his chivalric loyalty to fellow-men, darkened by no doubt of the triumph of the people's cause. With keen discernment into his heart's tragedy, Miss Jane Addams and Miss Anne Withington, to whom we owe the skilful editing of the volume, have placed on the title page under the author's name these words of his: "It is pleasant to see before others what is coming, but it is hard to wait until enough of the others see it to make the coming possible."

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

Chicago Commons.

Rose, J. Holland. *The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1900.*

Two vols., pp. 376 and 363. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Under this promising, but altogether too inclusive and ambitious title, Mr. Rose, who is well known as an authority on the Napoleonic Era, offers an interesting account of a number of the larger movements of recent European history. The special subjects or historic episodes included by the author in the first volume are the Franco-German war, the founding and organizing of the French Republic, the German Empire, and the Eastern Question, including a survey of the internal conditions in Russia; in the second volume the Triple and Dual Alliances, and the Powers in Asia and Africa. From this it will readily appear that the work falls very far short of its title. It is chiefly the subjects of international interest that have attracted the author; many fundamental features of European national development are

either disregarded altogether or, if introduced, are accorded only incidental treatment. Yet the work, both judging from the title and the preface, bears no suggestion of any such limitations. Not only is the economic and social progress in the different countries neglected entirely, but there is very little to be found on the political side. What is still worse, is that many of the countries are entirely omitted except so far as their names have found their way into the index, because they appear incidentally in the text in connection with one or other of the above-mentioned topics. Italy, for example, does not receive any mention except in this way; on page 105, following, in which the occupation of Rome is described. Austria-Hungary does not appear at all, according to the index, though there is an occasional reference to Austria when Austria-Hungary is plainly meant.

These examples will suffice to illustrate how far this work by Mr. Rose comes from meeting the expectations aroused by his title, and indeed how inexcusably inaccurate it is. It is not the function of the reviewer to suggest suitable titles, but some titles embodying a series of historical essays on France and Germany from 1870 to 1900, the Balkan situation, and Asia and Africa, could surely be evolved which would more adequately express the content of the work. It should, moreover, bring out the fact that it is with the international relations that the author principally occupies himself, especially those in which Great Britain is vitally interested.

Besides the criticism of this feature of the volumes, there is something to be said on the subject of the work already done on the period of European history from 1870 to 1900. All work on this period must, for many years to come, bear the stamp of "pioneer" work, but why Mr. Rose should regard his as pre-eminently so, when more detailed work is to be found in this field in the last volume of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Général*, and in Professor Andrews's *Contemporary History*, both painstaking and several times as extensive as "The Development of the European Nations." Significant, too, is the fact that the authorities found in the footnotes are too frequently not of a primary character. Taking a few of these at random, we find: Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy*; Busch, *Our Chancellor*; Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches*; Bismarck's *Reminiscences*; *Memoirs of Count Beust*; *Souvenirs Militaires*, by Lebrun; Seignobos, *Political History of Contemporary Europe*; Odysseus, *Turkey in Europe*; and Olivier, *L'Empire Libéral*. These are excellent in their place, but the advocate of contemporary history would have a sad case indeed if he rested it on secondary authorities, memoirs and reminiscences. The latter not being primary sources of any consequence except under the most careful discrimination in their use. Even pioneer work demands more of the flavor given by a larger proportion of citations, such as *Parliamentary Papers*; *Turkey No. 6* (1877). (p. 209); *Hertslet, IV.*, p. 2625, p. 225, *The Morning Advertiser* for September 23, 1886, etc.

These strictures are not made with a desire to be hypercritical, but rather with a feeling that Mr. Rose should and could have done so much better by contemporary history, whose cause he champions and on which he

is so well qualified to write. As essays, these volumes, apart from certain evidence of haste, would hold a high place; as serious history they do not appear, to the present writer, at least, to attain to the standard of historical writing set by Mr. Rose in his other work, nor indeed that reached by other work in the same field.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania.

Ward, Lester F. *Applied Sociology*. Pp. xviii, 384. Price, \$2.50. Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1906.

When the history of the development of the science of Sociology in America is written the name of Lester F. Ward will stand at the head of those men who have contributed to the development. He is first not merely in time (although his *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883, was the first American volume containing sociology in its title), but likewise because of the comprehensive system he has evolved.

It is fair to assume, irrespective of what future work Dr. Ward may do, that "*Applied Sociology*" marks the culmination of his system. It is interesting therefore to note that in this volume, as well as in preceding ones, the fundamental part of his philosophy is the belief that the artificial, that is the humanly made, which he calls "achievement," is the key to all social progress. "If there is one respect in which it differs more than in others from rival systems of philosophy it is in its practical character of never losing sight of the end or purpose, nor of the possibilities of conscious effort. It is a reaction against the philosophy of despair that has come to dominate even the most enlightened scientific thought. It aims to point out a remedy for the general paralysis that is creeping over the world, and which a too narrow conception of the law of cosmic evolution serves rather to increase than to diminish. It proclaims the efficacy of effort, provided it is guided by intelligence. It would remove the embargo laid upon human activity by a false interpretation of scientific determinism, and, without having recourse to the equally false conception of a power to will, it insists upon the power to act."

Dr. Ward is perhaps a little bit too pessimistic about present philosophical tendencies. His thought, however, is clear and stimulating. The present volume is much more readable for the average student than "*Pure Sociology*" because of his simpler terminology. Nor does Dr. Ward make any extravagant claims for the development of Sociology, inasmuch as he believes that little progress has been made since "*Dynamic Sociology*" was published. This, however, is possibly truer of Dr. Ward's own philosophy than of that of the world at large.

We find therefore that much of the present volume is an enlargement of parts of his earlier works, with suggested applications. Dr. Ward discusses the relation between pure and applied sociology. He expresses his belief that "*Faire marche*" is a better social motto than "*Laissez faire*." He declares that the highest good demanded by the new ethics is how to secure

to the members of society the maximum power of exercising their natural faculties. It is a purely social problem, and has nothing to do with the relative superiority or inferiority of men.

In Chapter VI, Dr. Ward discusses truth and error, showing how human progress has consisted in slowly shedding the primitive error. Religious ideas and institutions are carefully reviewed and the progress from obscurity to full truth is explained. This leads, in Chapter VII, to a discussion of the social possession of truth and the relation of the intellect to truth and the intellectual ability of different classes. Dr. Ward believes that there is no evidence for the common assumption that one social group is inherently superior intellectually to any other. As evidence for his position he shows how the lower classes have been continually rising to the top in the course of ages. The distinctions are, therefore, wholly artificial. Moreover this same line of reasoning applies to race advances, for all races are capable of receiving and assimilating truth. The development of this thesis and the proving that "genius resides in things and not in persons," and that the environmental opportunities have made possible the achievements of the human race, is the backbone of the work. In this discussion Dr. Ward puts himself squarely in mind with all recent discoveries in the sphere of biology. Success, therefore, implies not merely the ability, which is likely to exist in a member of any social group, but it likewise implies opportunity. Now, opportunity, which means, as a rule, education, financial independence, etc., comes largely to those of the more favored classes. This Dr. Ward proves by an examination of men who have been known as self-made, as well as by studying the privileged men of history.

In this connection Dr. Ward gives a very long and thorough resumé of the work of M. Odin ("Genèse des grands hommes, Paris, 1895), and reproduces several maps. M. Odin finds that, contrary to the popular belief, the intellectual leaders of France in the last few centuries have been men, the majority born in the cities or reared in close contact with the culture of the cities. This work is very valuable, and Dr. Ward deserves much credit for placing it so fully before the American people. Incidentally he finds in it strong support for his own attitude.

If, therefore, native ability is fairly distributed and success implies opportunity, then that which makes possible the continued advance of society is that each generation, and all members of each generation, should have an opportunity of learning of the achievements of earlier generations. The problem is not the equalization of intellect, but the equalization of intelligence. If this problem be solved, the others will take care of themselves. Dr. Ward makes little attempt to apply his theorem or to suggest methods. Nor does he attempt to draw pictures of the future. He believes fully that the recognition of what constitutes social progress must come before any definite application on the part of students of society, for progress consists of the conscious improvement of society by society.

Whether one agrees with all Dr. Ward's thesis or not, he will profit by a careful study of this book. In correctness of statement, and in rigorous

application of scientific methods, it is to be commended to all who have occasion to write upon matters social.

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University of Pennsylvania.

Westermarck, Edward. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. Vol. I. Pp. xxii, 716. Price, \$3.50. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906.

The same qualities which marked the earlier study of the author (*The History of Human Marriage*) are to be found in this book. An enormous mass of information relative to moral judgments of seemingly all the peoples on earth indicates the vast extent of the author's reading. The citations are accurate and from so many writers that this volume at once becomes a source book of great value. The style is compact, but very readable. Only in a few of the first chapters did the reviewer have any sense of an attempt at hair-splitting. On the whole, the volume is a masterly discussion of great moral questions and leaves one anxious to see the second.

The study is the outgrowth of a discussion as to how far a bad man should be kindly treated. This led to the consideration of the whole field of morality. The beginnings of the moral emotions antedate man himself. Moral resentment is found among animals (124). "Moral concepts are ultimately based on emotions either of indignation or approval (14). This is the basis of the author's reasoning, and he says all attempts to deny this are futile. His position is consistently subjective. The emotions are the very essence of right and wrong. This sentiment of indignation or approval finds expression in tribal custom, which was the earliest rule of duty (118). The rule of custom is the rule of duty (161). Out of these feelings gradually arises the sense of justice which is the flower of all (124).

Now, all the moral emotions are retributive (22), being different from other emotions in that they are disinterested and impartial (101). For this reason, in Chapter III, Dr. Westermarck takes sharp issue with present tendencies in criminology which would do away with retributive punishment. To stop punishing criminals would be to undermine our very nature. The important thing in moral indignation is the desire to inflict counter-pain (92). The argument deserves attention.

After briefly analyzing in Chapter VI the principal moral concepts, the author passes on to see how the different moral ideas have found expression in customs and laws, how agents intellectually disabled have been treated. Under this last head are some very valuable comments on present judicial practice as regards insanity and drunkenness. Curiously enough, in the discussion of the tendency to treat offending children as delinquents rather than as criminals, no reference is made to the recent juvenile court legislation in this country. A chapter is devoted to motives which races have recognized as being even more important than the acts, and one to carelessness. This part of the study closes with a discussion (Chapter XIII): Why Moral Judgments are Passed on Conduct and Character—Moral Valuation and Free Will.

Beginning with Chapter XIV, page 327, Dr. Westermarck selects certain important modes of conduct subject to moral valuation, and considers "how these modes of conduct are judged of by different peoples and in different ages." Five chapters are devoted to the general question of Homicide, including murder, parricide, infanticide, the killing of women and slaves and human sacrifice. Then follow chapters on Blood-Revenge, the underlying idea of which is "human sacrifice for the dead"; The Duel; Bodily Injuries; Charity and Generosity; Hospitality; Subjection of Children; Subjection of Wives; Slavery.

These modes of conduct are divided into six groups: (1) Acts affecting chiefly others; (2) acts affecting doer chiefly; (3) all acts concerning sexual relations; (4) conduct towards lower animals; (5) conduct towards the dead; (6) conduct towards supernatural beings. The present volume deals only with the first group.

In the course of these extensive discussions are to be found many interesting and valuable observations. Thus the ordeal (505) springs largely from the same notion that underlies faith in an oath rather than from belief in a god who protects the innocent and punishes the guilty. To many people the statement (563) that "the curses and blessings of the poor partly account for the fact that charity has come to be regarded as a religious duty," will seem quite startling.

Whether the reader shares all Dr. Westermarck's interpretations or not, he can hardly fail to congratulate the author upon his scholarship. Students of society, of criminology in particular, will find the volume of surpassing interest and value.

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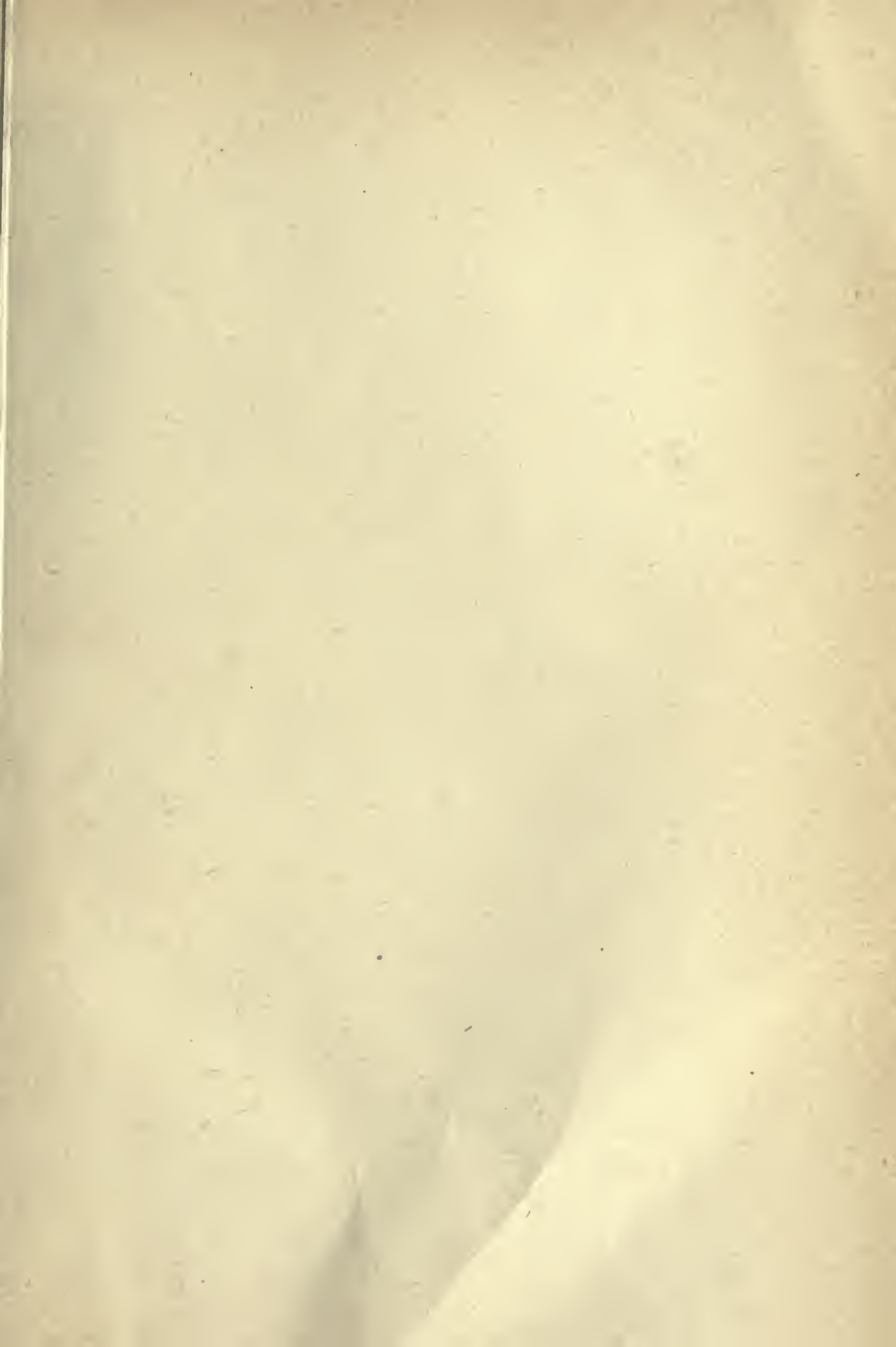
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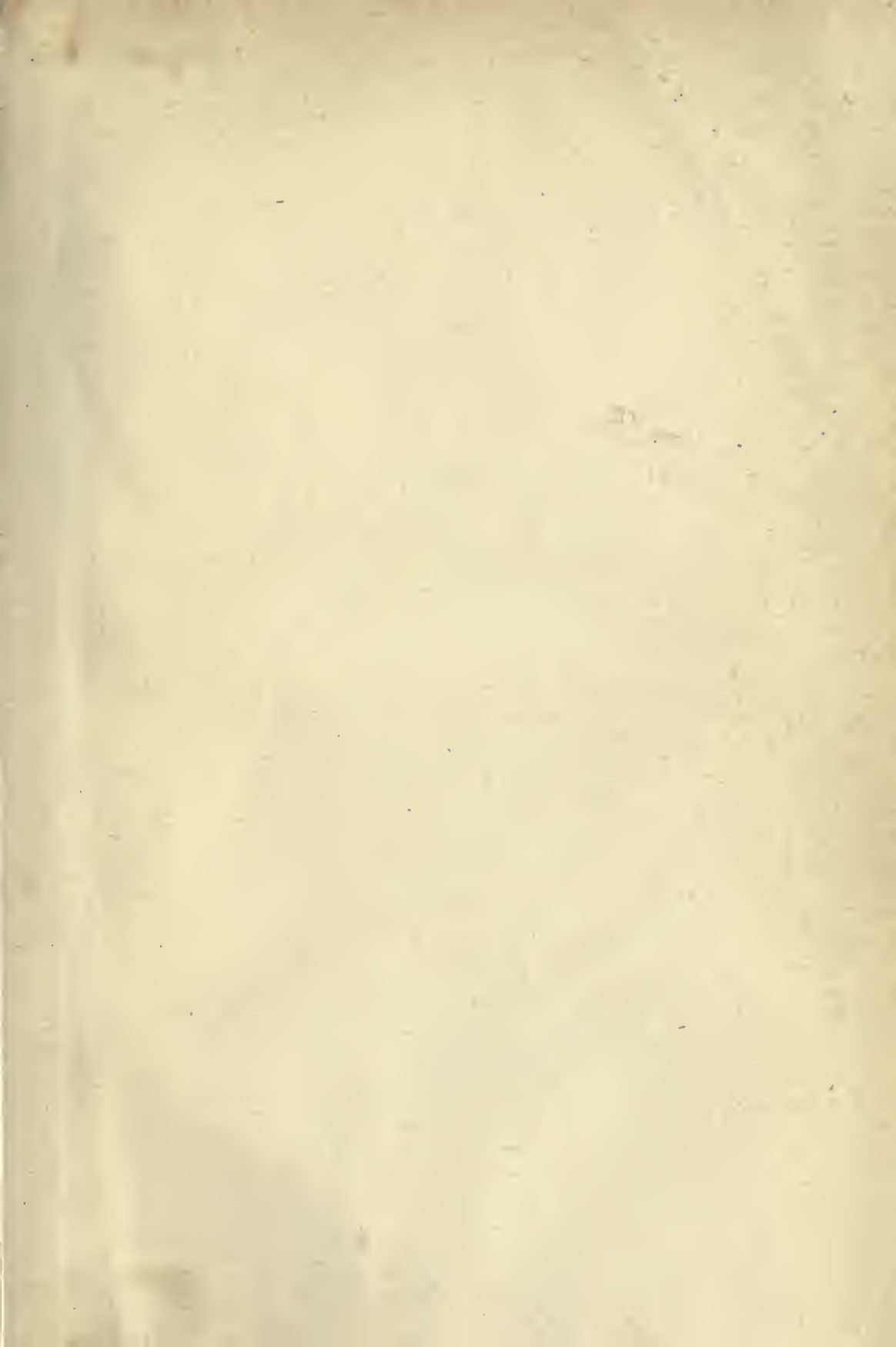
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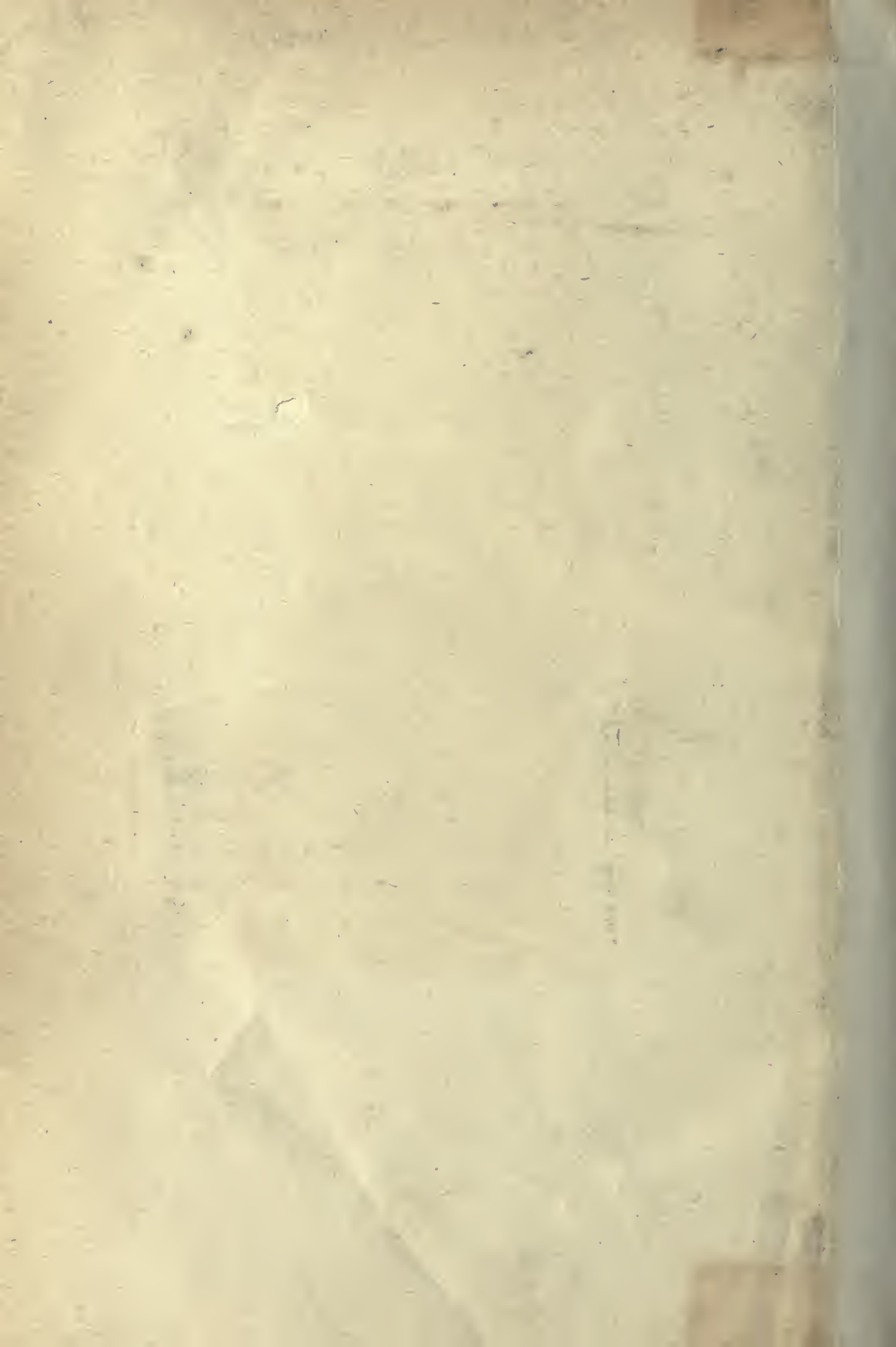
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